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WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON ON IMPEACHMENT.

SECOND ARTICLE.

When the people stand in awe of the rules they have prescribed for their own government, or shrink from the legal trial of any of their public servants through veneration for the station he occupies, it is the infatuation which sways the heathen idolator in abjectly bowing down to the workmanship of his own hands. In a Republican government there can be no surer sign of popular stultification. Of what avail are constitutions or laws, or oaths to sustain them, if those entrusted with their administration are not boldly dealt with whenever guilty of flagrant malfeasance or high-handed usurpation? At all times the representatives of the people—ever liable through the inflation and corruption which official position is so apt to generate—should be made to feel their relative inferiority as well as strict accountability. Particularly is this true of those whose power and emolument are large, and whose opportunities for evil are for the time being almost without limit. It has always been an easy task to bring petty offenders to the bar of justice, and to insure their punishment or removal; but almost impracticable to successfully arraign those of colossal dimensions. In politics, as in morals, there is a singular capacity for straining at gnats and swallowing camels. But the Constitution of the United States recognizes no exemption of one class of office-holders more than another; all are alike amenable to indictment, trial, and conviction. It treats the impeachment of the President as an act of no more rashness or solemnity than that of "all civil officers of the United States." It provides for such a procedure in a manner equally simple and summary—namely:

Article II., Section 4. "The President, Vice-President and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors."

Here is safe anchorage: all are in the same category, and each is to be treated according to his deserts, without fear of station or regard to persons. Yet there are those—and their loyalty is not to be questioned—who, now that the impeachment of Andrew Johnson for "high crimes and misdemeanors" is urgently demanded as essential to the suppression of treason, the unity of the nation, and the general welfare, start back and remonstrate as though it was a most appalling proposition, the enforcement of which might shake the very pillars of the Republic; while they are not slow in accusing him of acts and designs of the most flagrant, disgraceful, and usurping character! They think these acts and designs should be manifested and aggravated to an indefinite extent—say, until the rebels are in the ascendency, and the liberties of the people in the dust—before a step so awful (?) should be taken by Congress! When the horse is actually stolen, then they may deem it safe and prudent to talk about shutting the stable-door! But, as the case is, *let the thief have complete* possession of the premises, to do as he will, with none to molest or make afraid! Theirs is the discreetness of Dogberry, whose colloquy with the Watch is here in point:

"*Dogberry*—You are to bid any man stand in the prince's name.

"*Watch*—How if he will not stand?

"*Dogberry*—Why, then, take no note of him, but let him go; and presently call the rest of the watch together, and thank God you are rid of a knave.

* * * * * * * *

"If you meet a thief, you may suspect him, by virtue of your office, to be no true man; and for such kind of men, the less you meddle or make with them, why, the more is for your honesty."

To the House of Representatives the Constitution commits the sole power of impeachment. The Senate is invested with the sole power to try every such case. It is, therefore, as much a matter of discretion with Congress when or whom to impeach, at any time or for any causes deemed sufficient, as it is to entertain any other proposition. True, this it may do in a partisan spirit, or without justifiable grounds; but the naked right to impeach, independently of all dictation or threatening, remains unquestionable; and the only rectification of its abuse is to be found solely in the ballot-box. Any violent or factious resistance to its exercise is anti-republican, and must tend to civic dissensions. That there is little danger of its abuse is demonstrated by the fact that no instance of the impeachment of a President has yet occurred in our history, notwithstanding the fiercest party conflicts; though I think impeachable cases have not been wanting. Had Congress been composed of the right materials at the time, neither James K. Polk nor James Buchanan would have gone unwhipped of justice. Happily, that body, as now constituted, is eminently loyal and patriotic, and represents no political party in the old sense of party—only and grandly the people, lifted above all selfish consideration, and intent on saving the Republic from destruction. It has great and solemn duties to discharge. It has attempted nothing in the right direction which the people have not powerfully sustained. It has neither evinced nor cherished toward the rebellious sections of the country any vindictive feelings; but, on the contrary, has carried magnanimity to a questionable limit. It needs to be yet bolder and more determined in providing safeguards for the common weal; for in vain will it seek national pacification, in vain will it pass bill after bill for the protection of the freedmen and white Unionists of the South, in vain will it hope to succeed in effecting an enduring or homogeneous reconstruction of the rebel States, so long as Andrew Johnson continues to occupy the Presidential chair. It will be in his power—veto or no veto—as it is in his heart, to render null and void all legislation for the South providing for justice and equality. There he sits, grasping unconstitutional power, bidding defiance to the popular will, recreant to his oath of office, determined to rule or ruin, contemptuous and hostile toward Congress, applauded and upheld by all that is treasonable in the land, detested and feared by all that is loyal, and with vast powers in his hands to carry out his desperate purposes. Given two years more of official life, and what imagination is equal to the task of portraying the confusion and wretchedness, the violence and blood he will bring upon the land? Civil Rights bills and Constitutional Amendments he will laugh to scorn. So will the whole body of rebels, of whom he is now leader and chief. His guilt is patent to the whole country. His removal is called for by every consideration of justice, humanity, patriotism, and constitutional guardianship. There is no lack of loyal strength in either house of Congress to effect it, and there should be none of courage.

At this moment the cheering intelligence is received from Washington that a resolution submitted to the House by Mr. Ashley, of Ohio, instructing the Judiciary Committee to consider the propriety of reporting articles of impeachment to that body, was adopted by an overwhelming majority—the loyal vote, with only two or three exceptions, being unanimous. This mode of procedure indicates commendable circumspection, perhaps; and from the construction of the committee the prediction may be risked that impeachment will be recommended. Yet, so lawless have been the assumptions of the President, so despotic his acts, so utterly disgraceful to the nation his habits—all of them "palpable as a mountain"—if carefully prepared charges had been submitted to the House, and the issue met by a direct vote, the popular effect might have been still more electric. As it is, there is cause for congratulation that at least the initiatory step has been taken. That it will extort menace and howl from the factious partisans of the President is to be expected; but who would expect this on the part of any claiming to be loyal?

Just here our attention is called to an editorial commentary in the Providence *Journal* upon the adoption of Mr. Ashley's resolution by the House. In its tone and temper it has the true Copperhead ring, and will not easily be outdone by any animadversions of the New York *World* or *Daily News*. Its disgust and tremor are excessive, even though it thinks "it may be probable that the measures will never receive the sanction of a majority of the Judiciary Committee." It regards such action, even if only "looking toward impeachment, as wholly uncalled for, and fitted to awaken universal alarm. Indeed," it continues, "should articles of impeachment be reported, and give any serious promise of passing the House, we believe there would be *a general expression of indignation and reprobation over the whole land!*" It asserts that "very few people anywhere believe that the President deserves impeachment." It sneeringly refers to "Gen. Butler's spread-eagle harangue upon the subject," and "his bitter and ill-judged invectives." With absolute untruthfulness it avers that "no one sees any good that is to be accomplished by it, or any harm that is to be averted." With equal untruthfulness it declares that "Mr. Johnson, *as everybody knows*, is perfectly powerless of mischief for the rest of his administration!" It graciously concedes that "he is not a favorite with the people of the country; but let Congress go on teazing, harrassing, and insulting him, *as so many of its members are now doing*, and the people's sympathies will sooner or later be enlisted in his behalf." Nay, more: "He is an individual, occupying the highest station in the government, and it is not in human nature to see him thus *assailed by a numerous and powerful body*, without feeling that he is not having fair play!" More still: "Everybody has become accustomed to Mr. Johnson; *everybody allows that he has some merits*, though his faults are very conspicuously and evidently past cure; but such as he is, he is the President of the United States, and *so he is to be to the end of his administration*. We all know what he is, and *what we may expect from him*."

If this objurgatory editorial be a specimen of loyal feeling and reasoning, wherein does it differ from the worst effusions of faction and disloyalty? The craven dread of the consequences that may arise from the performance of a constitutional act, and what it cannot be denied may be an imperative constitutional duty, which pervades every part of it, evinces the same compromising spirit with evil that entered into the old "covenant with death," gave the control of our national affairs for more than seventy years into the hands of a relentless slave oligarchy, culminated in the bloodiest rebellion on record, and brought down upon our guilty land the righteous judgments of Heaven. It is the old delusive cry of "peace, peace," when there is no peace; when the rebels of the South are as traitorous in spirit as ever, and jubilant under the lead of a perfidious Chief Magistrate; when freedom of speech and of the press is outlawed in almost every section of rebeldom, and loyal men preserve their lives only by submitting to have their lips padlocked. If the *Journal* writer sees in impeachment "nothing but disaster and national misfortune," it only shows the extent of his hallucination of mind and derangement of vision. Impeachment is at all times a constitutional prerogative of Congress; and, if the exercise of that prerogative will lead to dangerous "irritations and excitements," nevertheless, Congress is not to be deterred from the discharge of its duty by any such consideration, and the responsibility rests with the Constitution and the people.

Let us not be misunderstood. No man is to be called in question as to his patriotism simply because he may disbelieve in the necessity, validity, or feasibility of an impeachment at the present crisis; but only when he proceeds to visit with scorn, abuse, and, reprobation those who, not less *patriotic than himself, honestly believe the measure* is demanded by the highest considerations pertaining to the permanence of the government and the liberties of the people. Had the *Journal* evinced this modesty and candor, in dissenting from the preliminary action of Congress upon Mr. Ashley's resolution, there had been no provocation to this criticism.

The *Journal* admits that "the President's faults are very conspicuous and evidently past cure." They are not simply faults, but "high crimes and misdemeanors;" or else acts are without quality, and language has no meaning. "We all know what he is, and WHAT WE MAY EXPECT FROM HIM." Pregnant declaration! Suggestive admonition! "Forewarned," let us be "forearmed."—*N. Y. Independent.*

THE IMPEACHMENT.

From Wilkes's Spirit of the Times.

The movement to impeach the President, for combining with the unpacified populations of the South, to resist the lawful legislation of the national Congress, "and for other high crimes and misdemeanors," has been regularly initiated in the House of Representatives, and is now under preliminary consideration before the Judiciary Committee.

As this is the first formal joining of issue on the part of Congress, with the new state of hostilities which supervened the military end of the rebellion, the proceeding has, of course, elicited a universal comment from the press, and we find sides taken, as a general thing, just as they were at the outset of the war. The journals of the South, the Northern organs of the still diminishing Democracy, the copperhead agencies of the "Associated Press," supported in the distance, by those tried friends of our country, the English Tory journals, denounce the impeachment with one voice, and warn us to desist from it, in the same strain they once threatened us with ruin, if we should turn our guns upon the insurgents who were marching upon Washington. The London *Times*, which has tendered us a great deal of advice during the last six years, says, that "the scheme looks like a fatal blow at the Constitution;" the columns of the "Associated Press," which has its adroit dab at the public imagination every morning, tell us, "it is commonly understood in Washington, that unless some of the numerous agencies now at work collecting proofs against Mr. Johnson, find more promising material, the Committee will take no further steps in the matter," while the whole phalanx of so-called Democratic organs, threaten unutterable things and even intimate resistance, should the movement go on—exactly as they did at every period of the war, when the government was meditating any new vigorous proceeding. This was to be expected; and consequently the whole opposing outcry is a mere repetition of the same game of bluff which was adopted by this combination, at the outset of the war, to alarm the North into letting the Confederates alone. Covering, as this opposing movement does, the possible prize of thousands of millions of reconstructed scrip, and the ultimate political control of the government, it is not to be wondered at that the hand is boldly played; neither should it be a matter of surprise that a few well-meaning but timid journals, which are snugly fixed, as things stand now, should be sufficiently penetrated by the opposing clamor, to give it indirect support, through mournful apprehensions of a party shipwreck. But behind all these weak and interested parties, and but little influenced by anything save facts, stand the firm body of the Northern people, surveying the situation with a practical good sense, and imbued with a courage sufficient to press forward and stand by any policy which they may conclude is necessary for the honor or the safety of the nation. These are the people who subjugated the rebellion. These are the people who elected the present Congress as their representatives, and we submit that these people do not need any suggestions from English newspapers how to translate the American Constitution; nor can they be misled into the belief, by disloyalty at home, that the exercise of supreme power by their immediate agents, can be dangerous to themselves. These are the people also, who (more is their mortification) elected Andrew Johnson; and we shall hardly be disputed when we say, that there is not one in a thousand of them, who does not regard him as a vile betrayer of his trust, and, at the same time, nurse a lively hope to see him punished. If, then, Mr. Johnson has been guilty of the crimes of which he is accused, and the Constitution provides that such crimes shall be amenable to the process of impeachment, wherein consists the danger of putting the alleged criminal on trial? Is it expected that the President will not submit to the necessary legal process? If so, the proceeding by Congress, becomes only the more necessary; for to abstain, on such consideration, would be a craven sitting down in chains. Is it feared that the accused, presuming on his station, will rally the dissatisfied elements of the country to his banner and set the Congress at defiance? If that is the case, Mr. Johnson is already master of the situation, and the sooner we give his despotism battle, the better for the future of the country. But such is not the case. Andrew Johnson has neither a friend nor a party in the country, and though it is the interest of many to maintain him where he is, there is not a hand in the nation that would be raised to defend him from the process of the law. Let those who ignorantly clamor of resistance, ask themselves who can be found to fight in his behalf? Certainly not the old insurgents of the South; they have had fighting enough for a long while to come. Certainly not the Northern copperheads; for, if they would not fight while their rebel friends were in the field, they will not rush to battle now that they are beaten out of it. On the other hand, there are about a million of men in the North who have borne arms for their country—men who elected the impeaching body, and who, having been betrayed by Mr. Johnson, will, it is to be presumed, fight again; and that too quite readily, if he should attempt to defend his perfidy toward them by military force. The apprehension, therefore, of intestine strife, out of the process of impeachment, is an idle bugbear, which will have no more weight with the loyal Northern people and those who represent them in Congress, than the views of the British press as to constitutional legality of the impeaching movement. The only point to be considered in the matter is, whether there is probable cause that the President has been guilty of a crime; and if there be as much of such probable cause as would put the humblest officer on trial, it would be an everlasting stain upon the courage of this people, should they permit the misdemeanors of the superior magistrate to go by. It is in this sense, that the American people have already been put upon trial by Mr. Johnson. He has challenged them by his usurpations to the exercise of the reserved sovereign functions of the Constitution; and if Congress fail to vindicate themselves, through those powers, they must inevitably sink to the second place in the machinery of our system, and become the satellite of the Executive.

It is this trial, thus invoked, which we desire thus to see pressed to a conclusion, with all the seriousness and resolution due to Congress for its vindication. It has been accused by the President of being "an illegitimate body hanging on the verge of the government;" he has charged it with having deliberately incited the massacre in New Orleans; he has endeavored to bribe political communities to abandon its support, by openly tendering the rewards of office, *in advance of the elections;* and he has combined with the unpardoned malcontents of the unreconstructed South, to resist its legislation, and to reduce its authority to contempt. Should the majority of Congress pass these accusations by, and submit to such invasions of its powers, out of mere party prudence, they would exhibit a venality equal to that of which they accuse the President, and basely resign the Constitution to Executive suppression.

We hold, therefore, that the Congress must sternly meet the issue which has been put upon it by the President, and we foresee no evil to the country from the result. The pending inquisition will not distract trade, though it may threaten the position of a few officeholders, and it will not occupy the great number of years gloomily anticipated by the London *Times*. Moreover, we think that the spectacle of the trial may have a wholesome effect of enlightening all the British journals, and the whole European public likewise, as to the true character of our institutions, and of our people. It has always been alleged by the monarchs of Europe, and particularly by the London *Times*, that republican institutions could not withstand the strain of party spirit; that a republic could not ride safely through the turbulent billows of a civil war; that it could not endure the weight of a great public debt, nor ultimately resist the ambition of its Presidents. We have shown, during a period of unexampled prosperity, that party spirit has always been subordinate to public welfare; we have proved that, young as we are, our love of country could trample out the flames of a gigantic insurrection; it is in daily evidence, that a monster system of taxation will lay like a feather upon the willing shoulders of a people who feel that they are free; while the whole world has recognized with wonder, the marvelous popular fortitude which could endure the assassination of a beloved Chief Magistrate, with no greater perturbation than that which sprung from grief. There seems, consequently, to be but one proof wanting of the complete capacity of this people to grapple successfully with every problem of self-government; and that would be the proof that we can take an unworthy and criminal Chief Magistrate by the collar, and quietly turn him out of office, as if he were a mere constable or a post-office clerk. The audience of the world would then comprehend, as by a flash of lightning, that in this country, the people reign.

THE LAW OF IMPEACHMENTS.

From the N. Y. Herald.

The law of impeachments depends upon the provisions of the Constitution of the United States and upon the principles and practices of England, so far as the latter do not conflict with those of our republic. It may be well to cite the provisions of the Constitution on this subject. Section three of the first article declares that the House of Representatives shall have the sole power of impeachment. The section declares also that the Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief-Justice shall preside, and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present. Judgment in cases of impeachments shall not extend further than to removal from office and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States. But the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment according to law. Section four of the second article declares that the President, Vice-President and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery or other high crimes and misdemeanors. Section two of the third article provides that the trial of crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury. A sketch of English principles and practices on the subject of impeachment is given in the Manual prepared for the use of the New York Legislature for the year 1865. One fact stated in this sketch is that an impeachment is not discontinued by the dissolution of Parliament, but may be resumed by the new Parliament. And this may be quoted as a precedent if it shall appear necessary to impeach President Johnson previous to the meeting of the next Congress, on the 4th of March.

Impeachments in this country, with perhaps the single exception of the impeachment of Senator Blount, of Tennessee, have been those of judges. The President, however, as well as the Vice-President and all civil officers of the United States, is constitutionally liable to impeachment. In England, on the contrary, this liability reaches no higher than to the Ministers of the Crown, not to the monarch, whose person is sacred. The precedents, then, which rule in the case of a British Minister can be observed, so far as applicable, in the impeachment of our Chief Executive. It is clear, for instance, that British Ministers have been impeached and tried not only for treason and bribery and other high crimes, but also for misdemeanors; and among the latter have been counted maladministration of public affairs, abuse of great offices of trust, and even such errors of judgment as have led to measures contrary to the will and welfare of the nation. Blunders have been condemned as political crimes, and, in fact, their consequences have often proved fatal. If the noble Earl of Strafford could be impeached for being suspected of intentions to subvert the fundamental laws of the realm, the Duke of Suffolk for neglect of duty as an ambassador, and the Earl of Bristol for giving counsel against a war with Spain in disregard of the wishes, the sense of honor and the interests of the English people, why, it is asked, may not the vetoes of President Andrew Johnson, in contravention of the popular will as expressed by the majority of the Congressional representatives of the American people, his indiscriminate exercise of the pardoning power, and the counsel, or at least encouragement, which he is alleged to have given the South to reject the Constitutional Amendment—why may not these and other similar acts of his be construed into "misdemeanors" that render him liable to impeachment and, on conviction, to removal from office?

On whatever grounds the impeachment of the President may be opposed, it is idle to oppose it, as some of our contemporaries foolishly do, simply because, as one of them intimates, Mr. Johnson's term of office will expire within two years, or, worse still, because, according to another, London and Paris journals—most of whom are still proverbially ignorant of American affairs—"look upon the contemplated impeachment as a perilous proceeding." The journal which urges this silly objection talks wildly, too, when it adds, it has "no doubt that if persisted in, our bonds now in Europe will be flowing back upon us in millions." It forgets that whatever ignorance the foreign press may betray on this point, yet thanks to the intimate social and business relations of immigrants to the United States with their friends in the old countries, the holders of American securities abroad appreciate them too highly and are too fully enlightened as to the practical working of American ideas, the character of our people, the prodigious resources of our vast territory and the real strength of our government, to be alarmed by the success or the failure of any party and temporary movement. They know that the manifest destiny of the American nation depends upon the fate of no single citizen, be he private individual or President.

IMPEACHMENT.

From the Detroit Post.

The comments of the New York papers upon the movement looking toward an impeachment of the President, are evidently largely controlled by business considerations. The *Times* says Congress is reckless; that its action will disturb business, and treats the question of impeachment as a political question. The *Herald* discusses the question also as purely one of policy. The *World* talks of the "*temper* of the Senate" as the main thing that will influence the result, and the *Tribune* discusses it as a question of political precedent. Now all this is wrong, and ought not to have a particle of weight with Congress or the country. The impeachment question, the moment it is actually opened in Congress, is removed from the arena of politics and policy, and becomes a question of law and of fact. Congress has no right to regard or settle it upon any considerations of policy. To prove this needs but a statement. Suppose the Judiciary Committee, engaged in investigating the charges, is compelled to report that the President has actually violated the Constitution and committed grave crimes, but that it is impolitic to punish him for these crimes! Suppose the Committee should report that the President had been clearly proved guilty of treason; but it is policy to allow a traitor to remain President! Or suppose the President should be proved to have committed a murder—proved beyond doubt, and known to be a fact by the whole country—would any one claim that, because of policy, and from fear of disturbing the business of the country, the crime should not be punished? Would not every one say that policy had nothing to do with the case; but that it was purely a question of fact and of law?

This is now the precise situation. The question of policy ended when actual proceedings begun. It *was* a question of policy whether Congress should investigate the President's conduct or not, to inquire what he has done, and whether he has violated the Constitution. But the moment it is officially known to Congress that the President *has* violated the Constitution, that moment all considerations of policy vanish, and the question of law *alone remains. Congress then becomes a court.* In fact Congress is now a court and grand jury. The House is the grand jury of the republic. The House may lawfully be governed by considerations of policy as to whether it will inquire into the conduct of the President at all. But, if it once resolves to make that inquiry, upon a charge duly preferred, it is bound either to bring in an indictment or not according to the facts and proof in the case. Once that indictment is brought in, the Senate becomes literally a court, presided over by the Chief-Justice, and no court has any right, or any power, to ignore a lawful indictment, or to refuse to try an indictment duly presented. If the House inquires, the House is bound to indict if there is lawful ground for indictment. Policy should have been considered before resolving to inquire into the matter at all. And, if the House indicts, the Senate is bound to try that indictment. It has no option in the matter. The Senate is resolved into a court. It is presided over by a Judge—the Chief-Justice. Every Senator is sworn to well and truly try the case—not upon policy—but upon the testimony, the facts and the law. Nor is the *temper* of the Senate then of any consideration, unless, indeed, its temper is a temper that will neither regard its oath, nor the law, nor the evidence. The Senate has no right to have any temper, or any policy, or any politics, or any prejudices, or any regard for business, or party, or politics, or self, or anything but the evidence, the Constitution and the laws. Once the process is begun, it is, from beginning to end, a judicial process; and we might as well talk of policy, and temper, and party, and politics, and business, and finance, and proper motives to sway the findings of the grand jury of an United States Court as to apply them to the House, and as a proper basis for the decision of the Supreme Court as for the decisions of the Senate in a case of impeachment.

The only question proper, or even lawful, for Congress to consider, after proceedings have once commenced, is, Is the accused innocent or guilty? If the Judiciary Committee brings in a report that he is undoubtedly guilty, and the evidence strongly sustains the report, how can any Congressman vote that the guilty man shall not be tried? If he is tried, and his guilt clearly proved, how dare any Senator violate his solemn oath, by a vote to acquit him? Upon this basis the issue rests. It is a question of proof and of law, and not of party, of policy, or of finance. The Judiciary Committee is bound to report the truth, no matter whether that report shall sustain or dismiss the complaint. Upon that report and showing, the House is bound to base its action. If the report and evidence shows that the question of guilt is a doubtful one, the House is not bound to proceed any further. The House ought not to indict, or impeach, unless the report and evidence make it its duty to impeach. It has no right to impeach from policy, or prejudice, or revenge—as it has no right to abstain from impeachment, because of policy, or prejudice, or friendship. There must be the undoubted presumption of guilt, founded upon evidence and the Constitution and laws, to justify an impeachment at all, which, once made, *must* be tried, impartially, conscientiously, and with a sole reference to the issue of guilty or not guilty.

CUTANEOUS CHRISTIANITY.

From the N. Y. Evening Post.

Mr. John Quincy Adams used to make fun in Congress of what he called "the cutaneous Democracy"—meaning the political leaders who were loud in professing their regard for "equal rights" and the privileges of the "working classes," so far as what are called "white" men are concerned, but stern in their denial of all rights to men of African descent. The abolition of slavery has brought out a phase of character of the same nature in religious circles. Before the rebellion, it was a prevalent idea in many religious bodies, North as well as South, that free negroes ought not to live in this country, but should be sent to "their own country," meaning Africa. But now that all the negroes are free, a change appears.

The recent Southern Presbyterian Assembly, at Memphis, debated earnestly and considered long, on the course which the interests of their "Zion" required to be pursued towards the freedmen. And they finally resolved that they would promote religion and education among the freedmen; that it was "highly inexpedient that there should be an ecclesiastical separation of the white and colored races;" but that if they insist upon being separate, they shall be organized into "branch congregations," with liberty to choose their own "superintendents or watchmen," but without ordinances, officers or authority as a church, and without representation in church councils. As the *Presbyter* well says: "This action is nothing less than the ecclesiastical disfranchisement of the colored race, and the result must be, in the end, the entire separation of the freedmen from the Southern Presbyterian churches. They never will submit to leave church authority and government to 'the white people exclusively,' and they ought not so to submit."

The New York *Observer*, a paper never considered dangerously "Radical" in religion or politics, exclaims:

"The simple question of color is to determine whether a man is to be admitted to the ministry, or even to the office of ruling elder; and this is so decided by a large body of learned and able Christian ministers and ruling elders, professedly acting in the name of that God who, in calling his people out of darkness into his marvellous light, and in calling them into the ministry of reconciliation, cannot be supposed to select them according to the complexion of their skin. The resolutions go still further. They effectually prevent the organization of a single church composed of colored people alone, anywhere in connection with the Presbyterian body represented by this Assembly. * *

"This action seems to us to open the door for direct missionary efforts from other sources more widely than before, and to make such independent effort imperative.

"If the black man in the South is to be educated and elevated above his present degraded condition, the work must be accomplished by a different class of men from those who composed the majority of this Assembly."

How much better it would be for ecclesiastics, as well as politicians, if they would at once recognize the negroes as only men, brethren and fellow-citizens, and plan for them and deal with them accordingly! It would surprise them to see how quickly the apprehended difficulties would disappear, if once they looked at the case in this aspect, and resolved to do with the negroes just what they would do with four millions of people among them, equally wronged and impoverished, equally docile and well inclined, equally patriotic and religious.

MR. SUMNER ON THE PRESIDENT.

We take the following from the Senate proceedings of Friday the 18th inst. It is a bold searching and merited criticism, and has special significance in connection with the subject of impeachment.

The bill to regulate the tenure of office was taken up.

The question was upon Mr. Sumner's Amendment to add an additional section providing that all officers of the government, except clerks of the Departments whose salaries exceed $1,000 per annum, shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Mr. Sumner being entitled to the floor, said: It is now little more than a year ago since I felt it my duty to characterize a message of the President as whitewashing. That message represented the condition of things in the rebel States as fair and promising, when the prevailing evidence was directly the other way. Of course the message was whitewashing, and this was a mild term for such a document, and you do not forget how certain Senators, horror-struck at this plainness, leaped forward to vindicate the President. Yesterday, some of these same Senators, horror-struck again, leaped forward again to the same task. Time has shown that I was right on the former occasion. If anybody doubts that I was right yesterday, I commend him to time, and he will not have to wait long. For myself I shall insist always upon the complete freedom of debate, and I shall exercise it. John Milton, in his glorious aspirations, said: "Give *me the liberty to know the truth and to argue it* freely, above all liberties." Thank God, now the slave masters have been driven from this Chamber. Such at last is the liberty of an American Senator. Of course there can be no citizen of a republic too high for exposure, as there can be none too low for protection. The exposure of the high and protection of the weak—these are not only invulnerable liberties, but commanding duties. At last the country is opening its eyes to the actual condition of things. Already it sees that Andrew Johnson, who came to supreme power by a bloody accident, has become the successor of Jefferson Davis in the spirit by which he is governed, and in the mischief which he has inflicted on his country. It sees the President of the rebellion revived in the President of the United States. It sees that the violence which took the life of his illustrious predecessor is now by his perverse complicity extending through the rebel States, making all who love the Union its victims, and filling the land with oppression. It sees that the war upon the faithful Unionists is still continued, under his powerful auspices, without any distinction of color, so that both white and black are sacrificed alike. It sees that he is a monster of discord, and not a minister of peace. It sees that so long as his opinion prevails there is small chance for tranquillity or security or reconciliation; that the restoration of prosperity in the rebel States, so much longed for, must be arrested; that the business of the country must be embarrassed, and those conditions upon which rests a sound currency must be postponed. All these things the country now sees. But indignation assumes the form of judgment when it is seen also that this unparalleled and far-reaching mischief, second only to the rebellion itself, of which it is the continuation, is invigorated and extended through a plain usurpation. Sir, in holding up Andrew Johnson to judgment, I do not allude to his open exposure of himself in a state of bestial intoxication while he was taking his oath of office, nor do I allude to the maudlin speeches by which he has disgraced the country as it never was before degraded, nor do I hearken to any reports of pardons sold, or of personal corruption. This is not the case against him, as I deem it my duty to present it in this argument. Those things are bad, very bad, but they might not, in the opinion of some Senators, justify us on the present occasion. In other words, they might not be a sufficient reason for the Amendment which I have moved, but there is a reason which is ample. The President has usurped the power of Congress on a colossal scale, and he has employed these usurped powers in facilitating a rebel spirit and awakening anew the dying fires of the rebellion. This is the great and unpardonable offence for which history must condemn him if you do not. He is a usurper through whom infinite wrong has been done to his country. He is a usurper who, promising to be a Moses, has become a Pharoah, and in the maintenance of his usurpation he has employed the powers of removal from office. Some who would not become the partisans of his tyranny, he has, according to his own language, "kicked out." Others are left, but silenced by his menaces, or the fate of their associates. Wherever any vacancy occurs, whether in the loyal or the rebel States, it is filled by the partisans of this usurpation. Other vacancies are created for these partisans, I need not add just in proportion as we sanction such nominations, or are unwilling to arrest them according to the measure of our powers, we do become parties to his usurpation, and now I am brought directly to the practical application of this simple statement. I have already said that the duty of the hour was the protection of the loyal and patriotic citizens against the President. Surely this cannot be doubted. The first duty of the government is protection. The crowning glory of a republic is that it leaves no man, however humble, without protection. Show me a man exposed to wrong, and I show you an occasion for the exercise of the high powers that God and the Constitution have given you. It will not do to say, as Senators have said, that the cases are too numerous, and that the remedies cannot be applied without interfering with the system handed down from our fathers; or, worse still, that you have little sympathy with those suffering persons. This will not do; you must apply the remedy or fail in duty, especially must you apply it when, as on the present occasion, this wrong is a plain usurpation in the interests of the recent rebellion.

The question then recurs, are you ready to apply the remedy according to the measure of your powers? The necessity for this remedy may be seen in the rebel States, and also in the loyal States—for the usurpation is felt in both. If you look at the rebel States, you will see everywhere the triumph of tyranny. There is not a mail which does not bring letters without number, supplicating the exercise of all the powers of Congress against the President. There is not a newspaper which does not exhibit evidence that you are already tardy in this work of necessity. There is not a wind from that suffering region which is not freighted with voices of distress. And yet you hesitate! I shall not be led aside to consider the thorough remedy for this usurpation—for it is not my habit to travel out of the direct line of debate. Therefore, I confine myself to the bill before the Senate, which is applicable to the loyal as well as to the rebel States.

Mr. Sumner then spoke of the merits of the amendment, advocating its adoption.

A SIMPLE REMEDY.

From the Brooklyn Union.

The Constitutional Amendments, as a measure of reconstruction, are generally conceded to have died the early death to which their malconstruction in an essential point plainly doomed them. They sought to dodge the question of equal justice in the South, and because they sought that one unfortunate aim, the dignity, the high tone, and the real wisdom of their remaining provisons could not save them. They were the voice of a Congress guilty of saying to the white rebels of South Carolina, If you will give your negroes two Congressmen, you shall be entitled to two for yourselves; if you refuse to let your negroes vote for two Congressmen, you shall still have your two. Do justice and your power shall be equalled by the power of the freedmen you hate. Continue to do unjustly and you shall remain sole possessors of political power in the State. It was very natural that South Carolina and Virginia and Alabama, being very acute in the perception of their own interests, interpreted the voice of Congress truly and concluded to reject the bargain. There is being made in some quarters a quite earnest effort to induce Congress to declare that if this bargain is yet accepted by the South it will be regarded as a finality, and the Southern representatives will be admitted, and the Southern bastard State governments will be acknowledged as legitimate. Sensible men may well be indifferent to the fate of this effort. Whether it succeeds or fails is of little consequence. Such a declaration by the Thirty-ninth Congress would produce but slight effect on the South, because it would be a virtual confession that Congress does not dare to overturn the illegitimate governments of the South and establish in their places true governments republican in form. Encouraged by such a confession, and feeling that "possession is nine points of the law," the South would hold to its present position, trusting that in time Mr. Johnson may accomplish the recognition of their present State governments, rebel in composition and anti-republican in form, and their own consequent supremacy in State politics. As long as there remains a glimmering hope of any such possibility, no amount of Congressional flunkeyism—not even though a committee of Representatives should lick the boots of every murderous and cowardly General in the traitor army—will secure the abandonment of their present position by the South.

What, then, remains to be done? First, it is necessary to substitute for the usurping governments of the Southern States others based on the consent of all the people who are qualified to give a fair and honest opinion as to government. Of the constitutional power of Congress to make such measures, to undo the work which the President never had any right to perform, and to give the Southern States true republican governments, there is no more doubt than of its power to levy taxes and provide for the collection of the public revenue. Until the representatives of the people are prepared to do this, nothing will or can be done that will permanently affect the question of reconstruction, or affect it at all save to confuse it more and more. While the rebels of the South feel that *they can retain the tremendous advantage* they have in the possession of the machinery of the State Governments, they will be indifferent to anything Congress may do. It is not of much consequence to them that they cannot send Gov. Orr to the United States Senate to join a hopeless majority in urging measures which the North will never consent to. It is of great consequence to them, though, that they may hold the purse-strings, levy the taxes, manage the school system, and control the legislation of the States, and of all Southern communities. The only act which they will respect in Congress, and understand as a finality, is the complete overthrow of the rebel usurpations in the Southern States, and the exclusion from power of the leading rebels *because* they are leading rebels.

Therefore the people demand from Congress that it proceed at once, calmly and temperately, but definitely, to this work. We would not, however, have the wise features of the amendments discarded. Let them stand. When governments are organized in the Southern States on the proper republican basis let these amendments be submitted to them, and receiving, as they readily will, the acquiescence of those governments, they will become part of the organic law of the land. But as a measure of reconstruction, having anything to do with the restoration of the Southern States, let them go. They would at one time have been the conditions on which the majority of the people would have been willing to have seen Southern representation resumed. They were so offered to the South. They have been rejected or ignored. Now let the work go on without further reference to measures which, as far as restoration is concerned, are as dead as last year's corpses.

THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT.

From the Detroit Post.

It cannot be denied that the recent extra-judicial decision of the Supreme Court has awakened a feeling of profound misgiving and alarm throughout the country. With that portion of the decision upon which the entire Court was agreed, viz: that military trials of civilians in the loyal States were illegal, because not authorized by Congress, the country can well afford to be content, since it recites the old doctrine, necessary in certain cases as a bulwark against military despotism. Moreover that doctrine, by reserving to Congress the exclusive power of authorizing military tribunals, preserved the Republic and the liberties of the people against danger, for Congress is but the representative of the people themselves, and their official exponent. Therefore the lodgment of such a power in the hands of Congress is practically its retention in the hands of the people themselves. When the people choose to vote away their liberties into the hands of military authority, they not only will do so, in spite of courts and constitutions; but they have a right to dispose of themselves as they may see fit, always reserving the principle that they have no right to impose a tyranny upon succeeding generations. Within districts actually in insurrection, however, and in cases affecting persons either residents of those districts or actual belligerents by reason of having been, or being, in the service of the enemy, the court *seems* to agree that military tribunals did have lawful jurisdiction.

But the court, in deciding that Congress could not authorize military tribunals in loyal States, even in time of grave public danger—not, perhaps, to be averted in any other way, because the civil courts themselves might have been seditious in sentiment—seems to plain people to limit and hinder the exercise of the duty enjoined by the Constitution upon Congress "*to provide for the common defence* and general welfare of the United States," and to declare war and provide for the government and regulation of the national military strength. Moreover, this part of the decision of the majority seems, in a degree, extra-judicial and outside of the necessary limits of the case before the court. The real question before the court, upon which it was necessary to decide, was whether the military tribunal convened in Indiana, *not* authorized by Congress, and, in fact, directly contrary to the express law of Congress, was legal. To go beyond this question, and inquire whether Congress has any right or power to pass a law which it has never attempted to pass, and never dreamed of passing, was as extra-judicial, having nothing to do with the case,—as if the court had proceeded to decide whether Congress may constitutionally authorize the engineer corps of the army to survey a route for a railroad to the moon. Indeed, we doubt whether this part of the decision is not a mere dictum, instead of being a binding decision; since the question it decides has never been lawfully before the court. It really appears, to plain people

exactly like the Dred Scott dictum, being merely the opinions of Justice Davis and his colleagues on one side, and of Chief-Justice Chase and his colleagues on the other side; for it is an old settled principle of law that a court cannot legally decide any question not necessarily involved in the case before it, and not submitted to it for decision, and that opinions upon points not legally referred to the court for decision, and not necessarily and inevitably involved in the case under consideration, are not lawful and binding decisions, even though the entire court agree in such opinions.

This dictum, accompanying the decision, creates alarm, because it indicates a series of decisions whose effect may be to nullify all the results of the late war. It evidences a disposition in the Supreme Court to usurp authority and pronounce upon questions not referred to it, and thereby interfere, unasked and in advance, with the contemplated action of the Legislative and Executive branches of the government. For, if the Supreme Court usurps the authority of pronouncing in advance that Congress cannot create military tribunals in States where the civil courts are open, for the trial of civilians (Congress never having attempted any such legislation), it may usurp authority to pronounce in advance that Congress may or may not enact any other law, or adopt any other policy, either contemplated or said to be contemplated. And if it may pronounce upon any one question not properly before the court, it may pronounce upon any or all other questions, whether properly before it or not, and obtrude its opinions unasked into all the operations and policies of the two co-ordinate and independent branches of the government.

It must not be forgotten that of all usurpations and tyrannies, the two most odious, and most absolutely destructive to liberty, are, first, ecclesiastical usurpation, and, second, judicial usurpation. The most contemptibly mean despotism in the world is that of an usurping priesthood. The next meanest and most grinding tyranny known to history is that of an usurping judiciary. The conspicuous example of the bloody and unbearable rule of the infamous Judge Jeffries, of England, is a notable warning, even if such an extreme instance were needed in this country, after the Dred Scott decision and the universal ruling of the Southern courts, including the opinions of the United States judges in that section, that secession was strictly constitutional, and the rebellion a perfectly lawful defense against the unconstitutional invasion of the rebellious States. There is little if any room to doubt that the Supreme Court of the United States, if allowed by circumstances to have decided upon the subject of the rebellion, would, under Judge Taney, and as the court was constituted in 1861, have decided that the United States had no constitutional authority to resist disintegration by levying war against the sovereignty of the seceding States. It is known that several of the justices of the court agreed with Attorney General Black and President Buchanan in this theory. Luckily the question of the life or death of the Republic was not left to the Supreme Court, else there would, to-day, be no United States of America left in the world, except upon the pages of history.

The question naturally arises, Why did the Supreme Court go outside of the case before them to pronounce this dictim? For what object did the court thus violate one of its own rules, and one of the fundamental principles of the law, well known to every member of the court? If it was the result of ignorance or carelessness, then the judges were unfit to sit upon the bench, not knowing their duty and the primary rules of their profession. If the result of design, what was the design? We can only judge what was the intention of this dictum by seeing what is its real effect. No doubt it is accomplishing its design, the effect being carefully considered beforehand. And this effect is to deprive the freedmen and Union men of the South of military protection, and leave them naked to their merciless enemies. Under this dictum, as it is construed by the President, who is Commander-in-chief of the army, if the rebels of New Orleans should choose to rise up and massacre not only the Union men of that city, but also the Congressional Committee now sitting there to investigate the massacre of last year. Gen. Sheridan could not interfere either to prevent or punish, because the civil courts are open and unobstructed in Louisiana; and Congress could not authorize the trial of the murderers by military tribunals, because the civil courts are open and unobstructed, although those civil courts might be themselves the very leaders of the massacre. When we find a dictum, which the Supreme Court went out of its way to pronounce, having the effect to shield traitors and assassins, and uncover Union men to the vengeance of their murderous enemies, and this is its *only* effect, we need no prophet to tell us that this was its design. At least such a conclusion is fairly warranted, and can only be set aside by a repentant and unexpected change by the Supreme Court itself in decisions upon other cases, hereafter to be pronounced.

What is the remedy against the apprehended dangers rooted in this dictum, and expected to grow and bear pernicious fruit 'ere long? The only apparent remedy is in the unquestioned power of Congress to reconstruct the court. Whether this remedy shall become necessary, and how it shall be applied, if necessary, may safely be left to the wisdom of Congress.

UNION NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

WASHINGTON, Friday, Jan. 18, 1867.

The Union National Committee met, pursuant to adjournment. In addition to those present yesterday, were Messrs. Greeley of New York and Johnson of Arkansas. The following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, the desertion by the President of those whose generous confidence placed him in his high trust has brought the National Union Party into a new and untried position at a time of great trial to the government, thereby calling for the exercise of the greatest vigilance, firmness, and patriotism on the part of those who would uphold the principles and sustain the measures which have carried the nation through the war; therefore,

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be directed and authorized to make a thorough organization of the future to confirm the success of the past, and to secure the fruits of our fairly-won triumphs, and for that purpose they may establish their headquarters in the city of New York, appoint a Secretary and such assistance as they may deem proper, and to take such other measures as may be necessary to give effect to this resolution.

Resolved, That the members of the Union party in every part of the country be requested to correspond with this Committee, by addressing its chairman at the headquarters aforesaid, giving information as to the state of affairs in their several localities, with the general condition and requirements of the Union cause.

The following resolutions were also unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the Union National Committee congratulate the people of Nebraska and Colorado on their admission by Congress into the Union as States, and they would respectfully express to the Legislatures of those States their confident hope and earnest desire that the acts of admission by Congress may be promptly accepted by them, placing themselves thereby on the true ground of equal rights to all men as proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence.

Resolved, That the Committee congratulate the country on the steady growth and progress of national and patriotic sentiment throughout the Union, as evinced in our late State elections, and we look with confidence to the Union party, and especially to the so-called seceded States.

Resolved, That, anxiously desiring that the States lately in revolt shall be restored to their forfeited position in the Union and to representation in Congress at the earliest day consistent with national integrity and national unity, and disclaiming all impulses of vengeance or resentment, we would respectfully submit to Congress and the country this avowal of our earnest conviction that no reconstruction can be safe or just which does not secure impartial suffrage to all the loyal people of those States.

Having completed the business which called them together, the Committee adjourned *sine die*. The above from the official record is signed by Marcus L. Ward, Chairman, and John D. Defrees, Secretary.

PROPOSITION FOR ANOTHER REBELLION.

THE IMPEACHMENT OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON THE PRETEXT.

FRANKFORT, Ky., Jan. 17, 1867.

In the State Senate to-day Mr. Hulm made a long speech in favor of a proposition to raise ten regiments of Kentucky infantry, for the purpose of resisting all aggressions and to maintain the principles of State Rights. The speaker desired that the troops should at any time *be subject to the call of the President of the United States.*

WASHINGTON, Friday, Jan. 18, 1867.

The President's evening organ says of the Administration that, "if necessary, its strong and iron hand will be invoked to stay the course and prevent the consummation of Radical treason. The great oath of the President to protect and defend the Constitution will not be forgotten, and the people who sustain him with their 500,000 majority of the voting population, North and South, will not forget him. Events have already brought the government to the very verge of another revolution. If the Radical majority in Congress pursues its treasonable course much longer, the government, in order to sustain itself, will have to arm its supporters. At the call of the President, all his friends, North and South, and the army and the navy will respond. In such a contest the issue cannot be doubtful. Congressmen may be valiant fighters on the floor of Congress, but when they come to lead their cohorts into the field it will be another thing. The real armies and great soldiers of the Republic will be found fighting under the flag. We advise the opposition of the determined and fixed fact, that Andrew Johnson will serve out his constitutional term of office."

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 26, 1867.

COLORADO—NEBRASKA.

NOTHING more exactly daguerreotypes Congress than its action relative to these Territories. Principle—partisanship—expediency—heedlessness—Western domineering—dread of voting alone—lack of clear vision, all these bubble to the surface; and to a thoughtful man give little hope that this Congress will effect much. Mr. Ashley's action is blameable in the extreme, has no one redeeming element. It is easily explained by the fact that no Western member (speaking generally) is ever found bold and virtuous enough to dare oppose the admission of any new State on any ground either of prudence or principle. Every Western man seems to dread, as the unpardonable sin in politics, the record that he ever, on any occasion, put one hour's delay in the way of admitting a new State. We think they ought to be excused from voting on such questions on the ground of moral incompetency. Fear, disturbing the natural action of the moral and mental forces, would constitute a sufficient reason for such delicate consideration to that section.

We were sorry that Mr. Sumner thought it necessary to vote for the bill under Edmund's amendment. That amendment is, at the best, of very doubtful validity, and there's no doubt that, as a practical matter, it would never have any effect. Mr. Boutwell earns our gratitude for his pertinacious and tireless resistance. His record during this whole Thirty-ninth Congress is a bright one. For ability, independence, foresight and vigilance, no member of either House deserves more of the country. We object, however, to his amendment for the same reason that we do to that of Edmund's—it is no complete guaranty. We want a *constitutional* guaranty—not any action by a mere legislature.

Indeed we object to the admission of any more States, whether made from loyal or disloyal territory, until our Federal Constitution is itself so amended as to prevent any State's disfranchising or disqualifying, in any way, any citizen on account of race, color or descent. Fight the whole battle now. We are better prepared than we shall be five years hence. One good effect of Mr. Sumner's and Mr. Boutwell's labors will be to give us more certainty of a veto and prevent the bills being passed over one. Hence to them and to their comrades we shall probably owe our safety on this issue. Delay is victory; at least gives the only hope of it.

It was the prolongation of the war that gave the North the victory and made it worth having. Victory in 1861 or 1862 would have meant only a sectional triumph with little or no anti-slavery gain. The long struggle educated the masses, showed the real nature of the disease and left no doubt as to the method of cure. So to-day every struggle of the still defiant South, every revelation of her fell purpose to continue *under the flag* that same fight which has proved so unsuccessful when waged against it, every outcropping of the PLOT intensifies and deepens Northern purpose. The disloyalty of the Supreme Court has shown thousands the absolute necessity of impeachment. It is easy to see the same influence in this Nebraska debate. Colorado and Nebraska may count Judges Davis and Field as the foes who rolled up those minorities to such unexpected height as threatens to settle forever that no State, North or South, which prides itself on being a White Man's government can find entrance to our fold. Thus God causes the wrath of man to praise him—the remainder of it, we may believe, he will restrain.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

THE IMPEACHMENT—THE PRESS.

THE New York *Herald*, from which we reprint, in another column, an able article on the law of Impeachments, is decidedly in advance of either of our leading daily journals upon this subject. Almost every day it has an Impeachment article of marked ability and statesmanlike foresight. Abolitionists have cause enough to complain of it, but on the principle that even Satan should have his due, we commend the *Herald* for its present advocacy of the impeachment of Andrew Johnson. No more virtuous, probably, for the sake of being virtuous, it has the sagacity to read correctly in this instance the signs of the times, and to discern that the end of the irreconcilable antagonism between the President and Congress must be the impeachment and deposition of the one, or the overthrow of the other. Things cannot go on as at present to the expiration of the appointed Presidential term, without a crisis. The *Herald* is shrewd enough, taught by its own blunder at the outbreak of the war, to assume that the great body of the people are ready for *any* measure, however radical, which may be rendered necessary by the exigency of the situation.

The *Tribune*, with good impulses, but from habitual lack of courage, early committed itself on the wrong side of the question. It sacrificed its opportunity to its timidity, and is sensitive under the leadership of the *Herald*, where it should itself be in the vantage ground. A day or two since, alluding to impeachment, it said: "The New York *Herald* now heads the hunt for the impeachment of President Johnson." As though Mr. Ashley, Mr. Boutwell, Gen. Butler, and all who are seeking the impeachment of a besotted, treacherous Executive, were but hunting some victim to injure and persecute, to murder some spotless innocent! It deplores the necessity of impeachment, if it must come (so do we), would "avoid it if possible," and "so long as possible." It is possible to avoid it altogether, by concessions to Mr. Johnson, but in no other way. It is assumed that the party is endangered, and may be fatally shipwrecked under the *Herald's* piloting toward impeachment. The worst strain the party can be called upon to endure is such as Mr. Greeley has brought upon it since the close of the last election campaign. What the *Tribune* now contemptuously denominates a "hunt" after the impeachment, it will presently find out to be a rising and irresistable tide of popular demand for the removal of a malignant, treacherous official, upon the ground of national safety. It, too, will have to rise with the tide or go under. Indeed, in the same issue from which we have quoted, in another article, on the "Prospects at Washington," the result of Mr. Greeley's recent visit, we find the following very significant paragraph, in which it is said: "*The idea of impeaching and removing President Johnson has more strength in the House than we had supposed, and seems to be gaining supporters.*"

The *Times* shows occasional signs of a disposition to espouse the cause of impeachment, if it could only be assured that it would not turn out as disastrously as the Philadelphia Convention movement. If, however, for a day or two, it talks in a better strain than usual, it hastens to give a blast at Wendell Phillips, as a means of restoring its equilibrium. It is not yet ready to leave the fence and assume an upright position.

The *World* recognises the fact that impeachment is strongly probable. It takes unqualified ground against it, and makes ominous threats as to what will happen if Congress shall presume to act upon its right to impeach and depose the "vulgar, drunken, tailor," so much despised while he was with the loyal Tennesseans, and now supported by the *World*, with a show of earnestness, as the head and representative of the discomfitted rebels and traitors. It talks of the damaging effects the impeachment will have upon the Republican party, and, intimating forcible resistance on the part of its constituents, North and South, tries ingeniously to play upon the fears of Mr. Greeley and the weak-kneed among the Republicans.

Powerful as is the influence of the leading metropolitan journals for good or ill in the nation, there is a majestic purpose with the great body of the American people, resolved upon universal freedom and impartial justice as a means of national unity and safety, which, whether timid, indifferent or opposing, they cannot thwart or control. In advance, we believe, of all other journals, THE STANDARD made the demand for the impeachment of the President, as, under the circumstances, a necessary, and therefore expedient and just measure. It has steadily pressed, and will continue to press, the demand until it is complied with.

If the approaching anniversary of Washington's birthday shall find in the Executive chair, in place of Andrew Johnson, a loyal man, a proved and tried friend of universal freedom, it will be, as never before, a day of general rejoicing, and the too long delayed work of right reconstruction can then be begun and speedily consummated.

MR. SUMNER.

THE loyal North got fitting utterance for its conviction and purpose in Mr. Sumner's speech on Thursday, Jan. 17th. We accept it as fresh evidence that Congress is getting ready for business; means to let theories alone and clear the ground for immediate and effective action on the question of reconstruction. Of course this can only be done by getting rid of the official interference of the chief rebel now encamped in the White House, perhaps we should phrase it more truly to say now plotting there. The country owes an immeasurable debt of gratitude to Mr. Sumner for the directness, emphasis and plainness of his speech. The House has heard such truth before; but no man in the Senate has shown such courage or patriotism. The thrill of joy, the exultation with which the country responds to his battle-call will, we hope, lift the Senate into its true place.

THE PENNSYLVANIA FESTIVAL.

THE Festival of the Friends of Freedom held on Thursday evening, the 17th inst., in the city of Philadelphia, passed off satisfactorily and successfully. It is, at this date, impossible for the Committee of Arrangements to estimate accurately the pecuniary profit to be derived from it; as returns for tickets sold in various directions are yet to be made to the Treasurer. A proximate calculation of receipts and expenses shows a profit of several hundred dollars; a result amply compensating for the labor of preparation; and quite equal to the expectations of the Managers.

As a social entertainment it was rare and delightful. The large, brilliantly-lighted hall, was hung with the beautiful anti-slavery banners which, for so many years, adorned the saloons of our Fairs, and which, on this occasion, gleamed from the walls like the welcome faces of old familiar friends. Among the happy throng who gathered there were the veterans of our cause, who have borne the heat and burden of the whole day; with their younger coadjutors who, from year to year, answered to their call, and enlisted in our ranks to do brave battle and good service there; and a younger generation, still, whose earliest recollections were of merry holidays spent in our Anti-Slavery Fairs. To all these our Festival was an occasion of pleasant reminiscences, and for renewed communion with friends and comrades of former days; and for social converse with numerous other guests who responded to our invitation, and added to the interest of the scene.

The labors of the Committee of Arrangements were shared and lightened by the generous co-operation of several well-known caterers of Philadelphia, whose taste and skill and liberal gifts were revealed in the beauty and profusion of our Refreshment Table. To the zeal and energy and great liberality of Mr. Price in this department, they are much indebted. They also highly appreciate the generous assistance of Mr. Johnson and Mr. Young. And they rejoice in the fact that all these gentlemen, and others whom they represent, perceive and feel their obligation to co-operate with those who are striving to obtain the right of suffrage for their persecuted race.

Music for the Festival was kindly furnished by the celebrated Miss Elizabeth Greenfield and her pupils, and by the Delmonico Cornet Band of Philadelphia.

Fine stereoramic views were exhibited by Mr. Edward Parrish and Dr. Hunt, and contributed largely to the entertainment of the guests.

Liberal gifts of money and supplies for the table were sent by friends of the cause in the city and country; but these are far too numerous to specify. The good service they have rendered a good cause will be a sufficient reward to the donors.

Among the objects of interest which graced the occasion, was the table upon which was signed the Anti-Slavery "Declaration of Sentiments," in December, 1833, in the Adelphi Building, in the city of Philadelphia, at the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society. This valuable historical relic was introduced to the attention of the audience in a few eloquent words by George Thompson. It is now in the possession of Mr. William Lloyd Garrison Clement.

There were brief addresses made by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and others; and amidst the varied entertainment of the evening, the hours passed rapidly, delightfully and profitably. M. G.

The following among other letters were received by the Festival Committee:

LETTER FROM HON. SCHUYLER COLFAX.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 16, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR: Your kind invitation of the 15th inst. is just at hand. I have but a moment before our mail closes to say that I regret I cannot be present to-morrow night. It is the night of my weekly public Receptions here, but apart from that the Rules do not allow the Speaker to leave when the House is in session. Hoping that the Pioneers in the cause of Liberty, now so triumphantly endorsed by the People, may live long to enjoy the victory (of a cause) for which they labored and sacrificed. I am very truly yours,

To E. M. Davis, Esq. SCHUYLER COLFAX.

LETTER FROM HON. JOHN W. FORNEY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 16, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR: If I were in Philadelphia it would give me great pleasure to be present at the meeting of the "old anti-slavery folks" at National Hall to-morrow, the 17th inst., but my double duties here will confine me to my post. It would give me pleasure publicly to hail the pioneers of the triumphant cause of human freedom, and to say to them how grateful I am to be permitted to assist in advancing the principles of genuine Democracy, after having given so many years of my life to the support of a false political gospel. Whatever may now be said of the Old Democratic party, recent and most wonderful experience has shown that hundreds of thousands of its members, the moment they were convinced that its leaders were resolved to use Slavery for the overthrow of the Republic, separated from its organization and became ardent Republicans, contributing by their valor on the battle-field, and their votes at the ballot-box to those military and civil triumphs which have effectually sealed the fate of the rebellion, and, let us hope, secured perfect political equality to all the races of mankind on the American continent. There is scarcely a reform demanded by the grand social and political revolution resulting from the war that does not meet the approval of their intelligent and patriotic masses, and while they freely admit that the early teachings of such man and women as those with whom you associate have conquered their prejudices, they point proudly to the fact that their example is carrying conviction to other minds, and making still stronger the powerful organization which is now so necessary to punish a perfidious President and to reconstruct and rebuild American institutions on the foundations of eternal justice. It is a source to me of supreme satisfaction to be able to give expression to these very conscientious opinions and to wish to you and to your cause continued and complete success.

Yours, very truly, J. W. FORNEY.

To E. M. Davis, Esq.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON has written a second article on the subject of Impeachment, which we present on our first page from the *Independent*. It is a clear, logical and convincing demand for the speedy impeachment and deposition of the treacherous, plotting, and unscrupulous Executive. These articles are very opportune in the present stage of the discussion of this important question, and will do excellent service. We regret to learn that though Mr. Garrison is disposed to use his pen and voice to some extent, and thus to break the wearisome and reluctant silence which physical disability has imposed upon him the past year, he is still suffering severe and constant pain in his injured shoulder and arm.

THE SENATE on the 16th inst. concurred in the House amendment to the Colorado and Nebraska bills. As finally agreed upon by both Houses the provision attached to each bill is in the following language:

"Section 3.—*And be it further enacted*, That this act shall go into effect with the fundamental and perpetual condition that within said State of Nebraska there shall be no abridgment or denial of the exercise of the elective franchise or of any other right to any person by reason of race or color, excepting Indians not taxed, and upon the further fundamental consideration that the Legislature of said State, by a solemn oath, shall declare the assent of said State to the said fundamental condition, and shall transmit to the President of the United States an authenticated copy of said act, upon the receipt whereof the President by proclamation shall forthwith announce the act, whereupon said fundamental condition shall be held as a part of the organic law of the State, and thereupon, and without any further proceeding on the part of Congress, the admission of said State into the Union shall be considered as completed. The said State Legislature shall be convened by the Territorial Governor within thirty days after the passage of this act, to act upon the condition submitted herein."

A MEETING to commemorate the passage of the District Suffrage bill was held at the Cooper Institute on Monday evening last, Rev. Dr. Cheever presided and delivered the opening address, severely and justly condemnatory of the Constitutional Amendment. The meeting was addressed also by Rev. H. H. Garnet, Edward Gilbert, Esq., and A. M. Powell. The weather was unpropitious, the attendance moderate, but a lively interest prevailed throughout the meeting. The impeachment measure was very heartily endorsed.

WE invite the attention of our readers to the article which we copy on our first page from *Wilkes's Spirit of the Times*. The political articles of this journal are very ably written, and almost invariably characterized by sound sentiment.

WENDELL PHILLIPS will speak in the Academy of Music, Brooklyn, under the auspices of the Fraternity Lecture Association, on Tuesday evening, February 5th, upon National Affairs.

THE *Independent* of last week we are glad to notice advocated, editorially, the impeachment of the President.

PERSONAL.

Rev. M. D. Conway, the London correspondent of the Boston *Commonwealth*, is preparing for the press a small volume made up of poetical collections from the works of the younger poets of America. It will appear in a few weeks.

Lucretia Mott, notwithstanding the great severity of the storm, was in attendance at the Festival held in Philadelphia, on Thursday evening last, and by her presence contributed largely to the interest of the occasion.

The following is a sample of the Louisville *Journal's* "wit." It says:

"Carl Schurz, the German editor of the Detroit *Post*, has a good deal of talent. He discusses many subjects with ability, but in politics he is an Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Botter-dam fool."

John M. Langston of Oberlin, Ohio, a colored man, on motion of Representative Garfield, on the 17th inst., was admitted to practice at the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States. This is the second case of the kind, a colored man having been admitted about two years ago.

The Washington correspondent of the *Tribune* says: "The Southern Republican Association, now in session in this city, recently appointed a committee of five, headed by Col. Moss of Missouri and Senator Cutter of Louisiana, to assist the Judiciary Committee of the House in procuring the necessary evidence and framing a bill for the impeachment of the President. They are daily in session, and facts of importance in the case are being brought to light through their efforts."

The Parker Fraternity have arranged for a course of lectures on religious topics, to be given at Fraternity Hall, Boston, on Sunday evenings, commencing Jan. 27. The following lecturers will appear in the course: Rev. C. A. Bartol, D.D., Rev. Francis E. Abbot, Rev. W. J. Potter, Rev. John W. Chadwick, Rev. Samuel Johnson, Rev. Emitt Finley, Rev. Samuel Longfellow, Rev. Jos. Marvin, Rev. Olympia Brown, S. H. Morse, Rev. John Weiss, R. W. Emerson.

The opening lecture by Dr. Bartol, will be on "*The Church of the Spirit.*" Mr. Abbot's subject is, "*A Radical's Theology.*"

We hear that the announcement of this course of lectures has created a considerable stir among the conservative "Liberals" of Boston, as indicating the aggressive character of the Radical movement.

Theodore Tilton was recently invited to lecture in St. Paul on his usual topic—Radical Reconstruction. After the bargain was made, certain Conservatives became alarmed and asked him to change his subject. He *changed* it as follows:

CEDAR RAPIDS, Iowa, Jan. 2, 1867.

Mr. K——.—*My Dear Sir:* I am informed that your Democratic friends in St. Paul prefer that I would lecture in that apostolic city, not on Reconstruction but on Literature.

I came to the West, this Winter, solely for the purpose of speaking in behalf of equal rights. As to literary recreations, I can pursue them with more pleasure in my library at home, than by muffling myself up like a Laplander and sleigh-riding towards lyceums in the high latitudes. Moreover, as to literary lectures, I had supposed that Mr. Andrew Johnson had already somewhat fatigued our Democratic friends with that species of amusement. I shall go to St. Paul for the express purpose of arguing, and possibly of proving, that the negro, as an American citizen, is entitled to all the political rights which belong to the editor of the St. Paul *Pioneer*. If you do not wish me to come on such an errand, then I will stay away, and content myself with referring St. Paul, the city, to St. Paul, the Apostle, who said, "Purge out the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, for ye are unleavened."

Truly yours, THEODORE TILTON.

Mr. Tilton lectured at St. Paul on the 17th inst.

THE letters of our Boston and Washington correspondents have failed to arrive. We presume they are detained somewhere by the snowbanks.

THE AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY, 121 Nassau street, New York, will supply THE STANDARD to news dealers

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, January 20, 1867.

THE two Conventions and Festival were the special occasions of interest and attraction here last week to the friends of freedom, justice and peace. The Equal Rights Convention held on Thursday, was a source of encouragement to the co-workers in the good cause. Robert Purvis presided, prefacing his duties with a brief speech, indicative of his genuine zeal and uniform earnestness in the work which liberty demands. Every noble project that aims to extend the blessings of freedom, and dissipate the spirit that trammels justice with distinctions, enlists his mind, heart and energy.

Mary B. Lightfoot was chosen Secretary of the Convention, and a Business Committee was appointed, composed of Sarah Pugh, Lucy Stone, E. Cady Stanton, Wm. Still and Abby Kimber. During the sessions of the Convention addresses were made by W. W. Broom, Lucretia Mott, E. Cady Stanton, Frances D. Gage, Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone and others, who spoke words of wisdom, good cheer and hope. All were imbued with the same exalted purpose, the same beneficent spirit, intent upon increasing the recognized individual rights of women, and devoted to the sacred work that shall result in "a nation founded on the highest and noblest principles of humanity, giving life and vigor to all denominations and classes, without regard to the difference of sex or color."

Resolutions were adopted, a copy of which I send you herewith.

Among the letters read on this occasion was the following addressed to Lucretia Mott, and inclosing a contribution in behalf of the cause:

"DEAR MADAM: As you invite contributions to your world-important enterprise—the establishing of Equal Rights for Women—I feel it a privilege, by way of testimony, to send you the small sum of one pound sterling, through the hands of my zealous friend M. D. Conway. I believe the light will dawn upon England from America. Experience seems to me to have fully established that the special sufferings and injustices of a class cannot be removed, under a system of nominal political freedom, while it is excluded from that freedom. Women will rescue unhappy women, or rather will prevent their needing rescue, after women are our political equals. Women will decree that war shall be restrained to be the police of nations.

"With earnest sympathy, I am, yours,

"FRANCIS W. NEWMAN."

Other valuable letters were read, of interest and importance, copies or which I will endeavor to obtain for a future communication. The formation of an Equal Rights Society was determined upon. I send you the organization, accompanying the resolutions.

Following this Convention, in the evening, occurred the Festival of the Friends of Freedom, which was equal to its best promise. An entertainment of varied attraction, pleasing alike to old and young, young and old alike enjoyed the genial opportunity. It was an occasion of fraternal intercourse, a social commingling of kindly and kindred spirits. Many that were gathered there were familiar to our recollection of the days now past of the old Anti-Slavery Fairs, while many new faces were to be seen, fresh in their interest and sympathy with the cause that should engage the best attention of mankind. The attractions, I have said, were various. The table extending across the hall had for its central imposing ornament an object of charming beauty, a large pyramid of flowers composed of a multitude of bouquets, by every eye admired. The table was otherwise variously adorned with the dainties incident to a generous feast, while the odors that emanated from unseen sources suggested indispensable accompaniments. The Delmonico Cornet Band was in attendance, liberally contributing their gift of good music to the cheerful occasion, and winning the applause they so fitly deserved. Then, too, we had Miss Greenfield, with her troop of pupils, who happily bestowed their share of melody to the evening's enjoyment. Apart from these, in a room adjoining the main hall, we had another species of entertainment, the Stereoramic exhibitions by Edward Parrish and Dr. Hunt. These comprised a source of great interest and delight, pleasing to all who viewed them, a novel and beautiful display. A rare relic of anti-slavery interest was placed on the platform, which all could see. This was a small stand or table on which was signed the Anti-Slavery Declaration of Sentiments at the Adelphi Hall, this city, in 1833. It is now the valued property of William Lloyd Garrison Clement. Another part of the entertainment was the speaking, which was a welcome adjunct to the occasion. George Thompson spoke first. He was followed by E. Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone and J. Miller McKim. Mary Grew took occasion to say a few words, expressing thanks for the aid and generous contributions in behalf of the festival—to the caterers who so kindly responded with their indispensable attention and liberal supplies, to the musicians, and to all who had participated in any way towards affording pleasure and giving a helping hand to the entertainment.

I have no space to write at length concerning the speeches. Nor can I speak now of the Peace Convention held on Friday. An account of this I must defer.

W.

[The resolutions and organization referred to by our correspondent, will appear next week.]

A WOMAN'S EYES AND EARS IN GOTHAM.

NO. I.

THE day is done, and all its infesting cares
"Have folded their tents, like the Arabs, and silently passed away."

It has been a fine Winter day—so beautiful indeed, that, "a poet might write a verse about it, or a painter paint a picture thereof." I might be tempted by my enthusiastic enjoyment of its glad sunlight, to mount Pegasus, and thus seek to immortalize myself and this day, but I recall what Ruskin has so pertinently said concerning second and third-rate poetry, and am warned in season. "With poetry second-rate in quality," says he, "no one ought to be allowed to trouble mankind."

There is quite enough of the best—much more than we can ever read or enjoy in the length of a life; and it is a literal wrong or sin in any person to encumber us with inferior work. I have no patience with apologies made by young pseudo poets, "that they believe there is some good in what they have written; that they hope to do better in time," etc. *Some* good! If there is not *all* good, there is no good. If they ever hope to do better, why do they trouble us now? Let them rather courageously burn all they have done, and wait for the "better days."

So much for poetry; and as for painting, I find just as timely warning in the example of Mr. Alexander Wüst, an American artist, who has recently favored the public with a rare collection of paintings of surpassing beauty. Among the most remarkable were a Norwegian Waterfall by Moonlight—a Mountain Forest in Norway, and a White Mountain View. The two former received gold medals, one at Brussels and one at the Hague. So absorbed did I become in gazing at them, that the street noises came to sound like "the noise of many waters," and over the "White Juts," the soft misty veil which one sees floating on a Summer morn, was so palpably delineated, that I fancied it lifted before my gaze.

"Why," I asked, "have we never had any of Mr. Wüst's pictures offered for sale till now?" "Because, he has never before attained nearly enough to his ideal, to warrant it, in his own estimation," was my answer.

I thought to myself that if all painters were equally conscientious, we should gain vastly in quality, while we might lose in the quantity of the pictures offered us.

So I'll incur neither the risk of being the author of a dead poem or a dead picture, but I'll just sit here by my open fire (so appropriately styled "a means of grace," by Dr. Cuyler, in a letter to the *Independent*, on "Home Joys and Home Religion,") and give you an inkling, good STANDARD, of some things which I think to myself, and then to myself say I:

"What a nice place this world would be if the rudimentary steps by which we approach perfection in any department, could always be *private* steps! If we could reach the garlands which crown the tops of the ladder of success, without getting pricked with the thorns which protrude from all the intervening rounds!

In fine, to come to my point, what a day of rejoicing will that be when mankind, irrespective of race or sex shall elevate its aspirations to that plane where Christ's teachings would place them! And now, congratulating mankind, black and white, on the progress made towards the ladder's top, I have a word for woman-kind—separate and apart from the all-embracing term—mankind.

Listening recently to the tragedy of Richard III., whom Mr. Booth personates with that perfection which marks all his efforts, I could but comment to myself upon the surprising capacity of human nature for straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel.

We can sit complacently and see woman's *weakness* portrayed by a Lady Anne, but if one of us takes the platform and endeavors to show that woman is capable of becoming stronger than past history has shown her to be, we shrink back appalled.

That woman and frailty have long been held synonymous, and that not without cause, cannot be denied. Neither can it be denied that the cause lies in her nature less than in her education.

How shall we educate the child? By presenting for its consideration ludicrous distortions of humanity, or by keeping great and good models before its mind? Surely there can be but one answer to this question.

And how shall woman be led to forsake the husks of the dark ages for the rich banquet which Christ's advent spreads before her! Surely not by forever ridiculing the frailties of her sex, but by keeping before her view such as have aimed at and attained to noble eminences. So, with all due respect for the immortal Shakspeare, I would choose from his dramas, only such as present the most characters for emulation. History is not wanting in high-minded, earnest women, who, by the excellence to which they have attained in the fine arts, are worthy to appear as models for the women of our day, and certainly the *present* is no poorer than the past in this respect.

I cannot leave this subject without a passing allusion to a woman who has attracted me strongly by her superiority—namely—Miss Caroline Richings—directress of the English Opera, now being presented at the Olympic. Knowing her high personal merit, as a devoted daughter of fond parents whom she maintains by her efforts, warmly admiring her faultless manners and her wonderful vocal powers, I recognize in her one of the women of our day, whom all might emulate.

New York, January, 1867.

THE THREE OLIGARCHIES.

BY JAMES REDPATH.

THE Radical skirmish line is too near the main body of the Republican army. It is time for another forward movement. Slavery is gone (?), class-rule is going; let the the bugle sound the charge for a grand assault on the three organized oligarchies that remain!

We must abolish the Regular Army, the entrenched Supreme Court, and the Senate of the United States. All lesser reforms will fail to achieve what the Radical leaders aim at—the establishment of a pure Representative Democracy. As long as these three standing menaces to popular rule, these three fortified garrisons of aristocracy, are permitted to exist, we will constantly be called on to waste our time and strength and opportunities in doing battle against them.

Take these three baubles away, and we can march on to other and wider reforms.

The second best result of the war was the destruction of all confidence in "the wisdom of the Fathers." What Webster taught in his massive periods, and Clay, in his shining but shoddy-like rhetoric—what every one (a handful of iconoclasts excepted) believed in or did not dare to criticize—is discarded now by every schoolboy, and lurks only in the heart of the baffled traitor. The war has taught us that the wisdom of the Fathers was folly. As a body, they had no faith in the people. They were rebellious Englishmen. As rebels, they succeeded; and then they relapsed into English colonists again. They are entitled to the same gratitude and reverence—neither more nor less—which the revolutionists of Mexico, Brazil and the South American Republicans receive from their descendants. As for the claim set up for them as pioneers of Democracy, it is all a humbug and a sham. The French alone are entitled to that honor. They acted as they spoke—like idealists in earnest. As for "our Fathers," they forged iron, with equal impartiality, into tongues for liberty bells and manacles for negro slaves. The best thing that we can do for them is to imitate the dutiful son of old Noah—to look away and cast a mantle of charity over their too open nakedness.

They took care to incorporate as little as was possible of the Democratic spirit into their nascent institutions. Five fortresses of aristocracy were planted in the midst of them. This quadrilateral has succeeded in suppressing every effort of Democracy to assert its rights, until within a recent period.

Fortress No. 1 was slavery. By the sacrifice of vast armies and of treasures that no man can count, we have succeeded at last in levelling it to the ground?

Fortress No. 2 was class rule. It still rears its head. Its supplies are furnished from the White House, from every rebel heart, and from every anti-Democratic interest in the nation. It is upheld by the three other fortresses. They must fall or they must stand together.

No man doubts that the Regular Army is an aristocratical establishment. Its schools beget upholders of oligarchy, as surely as carrion begets maggots. Every one is astonished when he hears that a true Republican was educated at West Point. He asks at once what *other* influences have "saved the soul alive to this hour?" Is it not disgraceful that such an institution should be supported and even fostered and petted by a Democratic nation?

I was ashamed when I heard leading men discuss—What would Gen. Grant do? when the question under debate was whether the President should be impeached. Do? Who cares for him, or any other one man in Christendom? Does any one suppose that this mighty nation, which hides a million of bronzed heroes under the folds of its mantle, will consent to be baulked in an earnest purpose by any tailor, or tanner, or dispatch-tinker, or soldier alive? A breath can unmake them as a breath has made!

Why should there be a regular army at all? Why should we create a power which can cast a fear over our political debates? In times of peace the regular army was employed exclusively in suppressing Indian depredations and in looking after our munitions of war. They were frontier constables and quartermasters' clerks. That was all. But why *had* we Indian wars? I am not a sentimental philanthropist. If men—whether white, red or black—will not work when they have the chance, I would either imprison them as vagrants or let them starve. Our policy toward the Indians has been nominally the reverse of our policy toward the negroes; but, as it bore on an inferior race, the red man perished under our kindness while the black man flourished under our harshness. We have nearly ruined the Indians, by permitting them to remain in organized rebellion against our authority. If we had dealt with them as individuals and not as communities; if we had refused to tolerate any foreign sovereignties within our borders; if we had arrested every chief as a rebel and refused to grant reservations to the tribes—and, instead of that, if we treated the Indians as we treat the native and the foreigner, we would have absorbed them long ago, without bloodshed and without expense. If "Light of Day" didn't choose to settle side by side with Paddy, let him follow or go on in advance of Leather-stocking. If he organized like Morgan, put him

Indian insurrections. Let us abolish both of them together.

We need no regular army in the South as distinct from the volunteer force. Arm every loyal citizen with bullet and ballot, and in five years we need fear neither negro nor master. Let us aim at this result. During times of peace, the Quartermaster's Department is amply sufficient for all our needs. In times of war, there should be no difference permitted between regulars and volunteers. The distinction is equally offensive, oligarchical and useless.

The Supreme Court was made up of life-members, for the frankly-avowed purpose of keeping it aloof from the popular will. "For they feared the people." But recent events have shown us how foolish was this fear. The great heart of the people keeps truer time to the heart of God than ever did the heart of any selected class in any age or nation. It is the men who are "set apart" whom we have had cause to dread. Mr. Phillips has shown us what we have to fear from the Supreme Court. He points out a remedy—impeach the President. But the President is an accident, while the Supreme Court is an institution. Our true remedy lies in the election of the members of the Supreme Court for a stated term of years, by the people of the United States—not by Congress, nor by any mediatory body—but by the people themselves. They only can be trusted.

When we promote the head of the army to the rank of Chief-Quartermaster, his probable course will not trouble any honest citizen. When we make the Supreme Court an elective body, we will not tremble at any possible decision they may render.

But the most offensive of all our oligarchical institutions is the Senate of the United States. I will return to it in your next number.

Boston, January, 1867.

PARKER PILLSBURY and Miss BESSIE BISBIE, of Boston, are addressing an extended series of equal rights meetings in Western New York. Their meetings, we are glad to learn, have generally been successful and encouraging. On the 12th inst, a Convention was held at Canandaigua, attended also by Charles Lenox Remond and Susan B. Anthony. Miss Bisbie, we understand, is everywhere very kindly received. This is her first experience in lecturing in which she gives promise of much future usefulness. We find in the Yates County (N. Y.) *Chronicle* the following letter from Mr. Pillsbury, addressed to the Editor:

THE EQUAL RIGHTS ENTERPRISE.

MR. EDITOR: The friendly leaning of your excellent paper towards the present movement for the extension of suffrage in the State, irrespective of color or sex, encourages me to forward you a hasty line on the experiences of my young friend Miss Bisbie and myself in this region as laborers in behalf of that object. There is no real obstacle in the way of its speedy success, excepting the indifference growing out of a want of knowledge or reflection. For instance, at Canandaigua our first meeting was almost a whole winter of cold indifference. The next showed signs of thaw, and the second day broke up the frosts altogether. The last evening the stream of a generous humanity and liberality flowed, clear and beautiful as the river of life. The coolness and want of interest at the opening session had totally disappeared, every iceberg had dissolved, and another day added to the meeting would evidently have carried the whole town in our favor. Rev. Dr. Daggett and other ministers gave countenance and I think approval.

Miss Bisbie and myself spent the last Sunday in Rushville. When we entered the town on Saturday afternoon no notices had been given out, nor were we expected there at all. But a vigorous effort secured us the academy for that evening, and it was crowded to the utmost, some not being able to get in. On Sunday afternoon we had the Congregational church, and a larger or more attentive audience is seldom seen in that or any other town of its size. The officiating minister, Rev. Mr. Harris, was present and took active part in the exercises, and the excellent choir also added much interest to the occasion. We had a long and interesting meeting, and at the close were invited to attend and address the Sunday School concert, we accepted the invitation, and the minister gave notice accordingly. In the evening the house was again crowded with the school and the villagers and the exercises were truly of the most gratifying description. They gave me a full house and even then desired me to continue longer.

So you see, Mr. Editor, we are advancing. Your county and indeed all the places we visit are only waiting to hear the true gospel of liberty and equality, to embrace it. The press, too, is coming gloriously up, to the demand of the hour. I am very glad to find your paper fully awake to the great question. You cannot serve your country or your God more effectually or acceptably; and for one I thank you most devoutly for the aid you are rendering while we are in your vicinity, and beg to subscribe most gratefully and sincerely yours,

PARKER PILLSBURY.

WE are indebted to our friend Miss HOLLEY for the following extract of a letter from Miss CAROLINE F. PUTNAM who is spending the Winter in the vicinity of Boston:

We went to hear Frederick Douglass lecture in Music Hall. He looked very well. His face as marked, and in no way an unfit companion for the Beethoven statue behind, and the bust of Sebastian Bach on the organ.

A lighter bronze than either would be his real likeness. What a history for a man to have had, and an *American*, his is! A great many respectable colored people were there, and the audience was very cordial. Douglass spoke solid sense and instruction as to the defects of our government.

Miss S. and I went early and sat in the gallery to hear Mr. Emerson. When he entered, Mr. Garrison, James F. Clarke, and a stranger, came in with him. The stranger I soon made out was Henry Vincent, from the photograph at Theo. D. Weld's. He sat front with Mr. Garrison. His long beard was like Gerrit Smith's. He seemed more occupied with the audience than with the lecture, and probably thought he was seeing the *elite* of Boston culture. It was nothing of the kind. There was a good deal of trouble to get light enough for Mr. E. to see to read his MS. A man went out and was gone long enough for the backwoods before appearing with a lamp. Mr. Emerson had a grand passage about Alfred the Great's Will, where he declares that his freedmen shall be as free as himself. He read from the old English, and then said, that was "manhood suffrage." The audience applauded—as they did every time he hinted at politics. His theme was the Man of the World. And after telling the advantage of society, culture, etc., he asked why cannot the million have what the few have? He said the accomplished men, Plato, Pericles, etc., were not the greatest men—but Cadmus, Luther, and the men of moral force.

Tuesday, Jan. 1st. I went to the meeting in Tremont Temple. The celebration of Emancipation Proclamation. Douglass was there looking more like Beethoven than ever. He began by singing in a low rich voice tremulous with emotion

"John Brown's body lies a mouldering in the grave,"

and then told of the last time he was there—on the day of that execution, six years ago—when he was dragged out at that door from the platform by the police.

Remond came in looking like Marquis de la Fayette. In fact the whole platform of colored men was a picture of grace and manner. George Thompson spoke in the evening—better than I ever heard him oratorically—but it was petty to attack Charles Remond, and a real insult to the black man's cause as he did it. If the day was all to be given to praise and thanksgiving, why did he go off from the order he prescribed, and find fault with Remond or anything else?

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Tribune* gives the following description of the whipping-post, one of the relics o slavery, now in use in Raleigh, N. C.:

"The whipping-post is a large pine log, near the edge of a platform about 12 feet square. On two sides of the post are iron staples, firmly driven in, to bind the prisoner to. When a prisoner is to be whipped, he is first stripped naked, from the waist up; then his hands are firmly secured to the staples. The sheriff then takes a long, heavy, hickory limb, such as farmers are wont to use upon lazy and stubborn oxen, and, standing about three feet from the prisoner, lays it on with a will. Each lick will either bring the blood or raise a welt of bruised flesh as large as your finger. It is one of the most cruel and degrading punishments that can be used, and generally leaves the back full of scars that can be seen for years afterward. The remainder of the platform is used as stocks for confining persons by the hands, neck or feet, or all, as the order of the court shall determine. When a prisoner is to be whipped, all the loafers and vagabonds in the town collect to see it done, and enjoy the sport, as they term it."

Says the New York *Independent*: "This instrument of torture is used on women as well as men. Gen. Sickles abolished the use of it for a time, but President Johnson revoked his order, and now you hear the shrieks of the poor wretches every hour in the day, as they are led out and bound to the instrument of torture. When this torture is over, if the poor wretch has not the money to pay the cost of his whipping, he is put up at the auction-block and sold into a servitude which is only another name for slavery."

WE are indebted to our friend EDWARD M. DAVIS for the following extract of a letter from B. P. HUNT, Esq., of Philadelphia, in which he expresses his good will towards, and kind appreciation of, THE STANDARD. Mr. Hunt is a retired merchant who lived for many years in Port au Prince. He is one of the warmest, most untiring and efficient of the friends of the colored people in Philadelphia, with reference of their cruel exclusion from the cars, in behalf of the colored soldiers, and in aid of the freedmen. He says:

In regard to THE STANDARD, I have taken it ever since I became acquainted with its value, which was a year or so, after my return home in 1855. So far as I know, it is the only organ in the country of that small and scattered party which believes it safe to act, at all times from a principle as distinct from an expediency, and is not afraid to trust the truth to stand alone. In the discouraging part of the war, and especially during the dark days which succeeded McClellan's defeat on the Peninsula, I looked for THE STANDARD, as a man looks for a standard of time, when he weekly winds up and sets his eight-day clock. I remember cutting out its Washington letter which first made it clear to the public that McClellan's "change of base" was simply a terrible rout, and sending it to John Bigelow, then consul at Paris, as the only printed truth on the subject to be found in the country.

I hope you will make good use of the Impeachment memorials, for in reconstructing a country, as in reconstructing a house, the first thing to do is to remove obstructions.

FOR THE STANDARD.

NIGHT AND MORNING.

UPROSE the Sower, moon, and took
His way through fields of air;
While from his bounteous hand he shook
The stars, o'er furrows bare.

Through all the season of the Night
The teeming germs unfold,
And harvest gleams in rosy light:
The Morning's waving gold!

GEORGE COOPER.

PETITION

OF THE AMERICAN EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION AGAINST THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

To the Senate and Assembly of the State of New York.

WE, the undersigned, in behalf of the American Equal Rights Association, respectfully petition your Honorable Body to reject the proposed Amendment to the Constitution of the United States upon the following grounds:

1st. *It is utterly inadequate.* It fails to secure loyal State governments in the South, or to curb the spirit of rebellion. Yet the fact of its adoption is declared to entitle the rebel States to resume their seats in the Congress of the United States.

2d. *It will interpose an obstacle*, if adopted, to such additional conditions of Reconstruction as justice and sound policy require.

3d. *Its adoption would be an act of Perfidy* unparallelled in history. It places four millions of loyal negroes, without adequate protection, under the heel of their enemies and ours. Moreover it subjects two millions of loyal white Southerners to the tender mercies of rebels.

4th. *It permits the disfranchisement of the loyal mothers of a million soldiers without penalty*, and by an act of retrogressive legislation introduces the word male for the first time into the Federal Constitution.

5th. *It satisfies nobody.* At the South, the loyalists protest against it, the negroes dread it and the rebels repudiate it. At the North, the Democrats unanimously oppose it and a majority of the Republicans condemn it.

6th. *The people of the State are opposed to it.* Inasmuch as they have had no opportunity of expressing an opinion, it is the duty of the Legislature, before acting upon a matter of such vital importance, to submit it to a direct vote at a special election to be called for the purpose.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON,
SUSAN B. ANTHONY,
HENRY B. BLACKWELL,
LUCY STONE,
} Committee of Am. Equal Rights Association.

New York, January 3, 1867.

PENNSYLVANIA PEACE SOCIETY.

MEETING AT PHILADELPHIA—THE RESOLUTIONS AND ADDRESS.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 18, 1867.

THE Pennsylvania Peace Society met in Convention to-day, and was in session during the entire afternoon and evening. The attendance was quite large and enthusiastic. Several prominent persons were present from abroad, among whom were Henry C. Wright of Boston and the Hon. Geo. Thompson of England. The Convention was presided over by George W. Taylor. A series of resolutions were offered by the Executive Committee, setting forth that the friends of Peace appreciated the earnest consistency and advocacy of religious liberty by George Fox and Wm. Penn and their coadjutors; that the masses of the people on reflection are favorable to the establishment of an international tribunal, composed of representatives from the nations, to which may be referred all disputes between nations; that such a tribunal would command the respect of the world, saving bloodshed, and thus change arbitration which has heretofore been left till after the war, and make it precede such calamities; that they have confidence in the righteousness of this cause, and that it only needs to be accepted to ultimately triumph; that the principles of peace are universal in their application, and eternal in their character. Lastly, that a Committee of five be appointed to wait upon the President and Congress for the purpose of promoting the object of Peace. The resolutions were agreed to, and a Committee appointed.

The evening session was occupied in discussing a lengthy series of resolutions offered by the Committee on Business, the main points of which were embodied in those offered at the afternoon session. An address was also read embracing the following declarations: That the Society was not actuated by a partisan feeling; that it is their intent to perform a part in promoting a feeling of good will, and invites a correspondence with those favorable to peace, and inquirers after truth to act with them; that to the Society is committed the privilege of receiving the people of nations and molding them into harmony; that the adoption of such measures by the governments of Europe and America would be welcomed by others, and a universal disarming of nations might in consequence follow. After the reading of the address the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

OBITUARY.

DIED, at his residence in Easton, Washington County, New York, after a lingering illness, on the 29th of Twelfth month, 1866, RENUBE BAKER, in the 73d year of his age.

The deceased was well and widely known as a member of the Society of Friends. And was one of those rare specimens of the true Christian that endeared his life and now blesses his memory, not only to a fond and loving companion and beloved children, but also to many friends and acquaintainces, a large concourse of whom assembled at the funeral, to mingle their sympathies and offer their tribute of affectionate remembrance with the manifest feeling that the world had lost a friend and brother and society one of its best and brightest ornaments, in his removal from our midst. His long and useful life had been a living exemplification of those Divine and Heaven-born graces which so adorn the human character and commend themselves to the respect and homage of the human heart.

Although not an acknowledged minister of the Society of which he was a member, yet his life was a perpetual sermon, and he often bore public testimony to his faith in the great and sublime truths of liberal Christianity and universal brotherhood; exorting to a faithful and practical every day life of goodness, assuring his hearers that "he had no fear of death, and that if they thus lived each day, they would surely be prepared to "die the death of the righteous, and their last end would be like his."

The constant, cheerful, calm and heavenly joy that beamed in every lineamant of his countenance during his indisposition, afforded unmistakable evidence that "Heaven waits not till the last moment, but owns its friends this side of death, and points them out to men;" often remarking that he was in constant enjoyment, and happy either in life or death.

A short time before the solemn close, after bidding farewell to his immediate family, he said, "farewell all; farewell all mankind, I go in peace;" thus triumphantly sealing the truth which he had often expressed, as his own joyful experiance, that "the effects of righteousness are peace and the rewards thereof quietude and assurance forever."

It may be truly said of him, that "he was a fruitful bough whose branches run over the wall." As no sectarian enclosure bounded his enlarged and liberal sympathies and love, but, whenever and wherever he found a purified spirit, was ever ready to extend the right hand of Christian-fellowship without regard to sect, color or caste. Having no desire or wish to build up or foster any system of mere theology or creed-making and ceremonial worship, but unlimited faith in living out the spirit and teachings of the meek and lowly Jesus, and observing the fast described by the Hebrew prophet as chosen of the Lord:

"To loose the bands of wickedness, undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke."

"Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house, and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh."

"Then shall thy light break forth as the morning: and the Lord shall guide thee continually."

He had been long and deeply interested in the cause of the oppressed and down-trodden of our land, and actively alive to the interests of the Anti-Slavery struggle, aiding by word and deed, and giving encouragement to the Anti-Slavery laborer on his toilsome journey, and during the past few years of revolution and blood has watched with intense interest every movement in national affairs that gave promise of more extended liberty, justice and equality.

"Dear as thou wast, and justly dear,
We will not weep for thee;
One thought shall check the starting tear,
It is—that thou art free!

Triumphant in thy closing eye,
The hope of glory shone;
Joy breathed in thy expiring sigh,
To think the fight was won.

Gently the passing spirit fled,
Sustained by grace divine;
Oh! may such grace on me be shed,
And make my end like thine."

J. W. F.

LITERARY.

IN the recently-published "Life of Archbishop Whately," we find the following remarks by him on "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and the character and influences of slavery:

"When you speak of the work being more popular than Homer, Shakspeare, etc., you leave out of account their permanence. Some very pleasant wines, for the time, will not keep like Hock.

"But the present popularity is certainly a wonderful phenomenon. No one cause will account for it. (1.) It certainly is a work of great power. The author has shown that she can't write other things as well. But I do not know that her other productions are more inferior to it than the worst of Sir W. Scott's to his best. (2.) It relates to a very interesting subject. Many of the readers in England have friends settled in the United States, and the rest can easily fancy themselves living there in the midst of slaves, and perhaps themselves slave-owners. (3.) It gives a picture which most people believe, and I conceive with good reason, to be true. The answers it called forth, the testimony of many eminent Americans, and the documents published in the "Key," all go to confirm the truth.

"Only t'other day I heard a man repeat the argument of the *Times* that self-interest is a sufficient security; as in the case of cattle, where, by the by, it is so little a security that we have a law against cruelty to them. But even the most humane master of cattle treats them in a manner which one could not approve towards men, *e. g.*, selling most of the calves that a cow bears, and knocking on the head a horse that is past work. I suggested that it would be an advantage to slaves if the masters could acquire a taste for human flesh. When a negro grows too old to be worth keeping for work, instead of being killed by inches by starvation and over work, he would be put up to fatten like an ox." * * * * *

"There is a peculiar difficulty in giving such moral lessons to slaves as shall be consistent with slave constitutions.

"*E. g.*, how would you exhort a slave to abstain from pilfering or fairly running away with all the property he can lay hold of? Most would say, Teach him that theft is a sin. Granted; but he will deny that it is theft. It is enemy's property, and fair spoil. He is not a member of the community. It is a hostile one.

"'Think'st thou we will not sally forth
To spoil the spoiler as we may,
And from the robber rend the prey?'

"His master has stolen him, or, at least, is a receiver. And he will ask whether, if you were taken prisoner by bandits, and either kept by them or transferred by them to others, though you might be deterred by fear in some cases from attempting to escape, you would feel any scruple of conscience, and doubt of the right, to seize on anything of theirs you might need, mount their best horses, and ride off?

"Such is the slave's case. You cannot prove that he has not a fair right to anything (including himself) belonging to his master, or to any other member of the community which is thus hostile to him.

"It is not coveting one's goods to sue another for damages for false imprisonment.

"Hence it is that most missionaries, except the Moravians, have made slaves discontented and rebellious. For when men acquire any notion of justice, they apply it most readily to others."

[It is plain that Archbishop Whately was unacquainted with the course taken by the missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions among the slaveholding Cherokees and Choctaws. Yet the next extract shows that he understood the pro-slavery position of the clergy of all sects in our Southern States.]

"A priest solely dependent on his flock is in fact retained by them to give the sanction of religion to the conduct, whatever it be, which the majority chooses. The great merit of 'Dred' is the clearness with which this is exemplified in the slave States. What can be more unchristian than slavery, unless, indeed, it be assassination? And yet a whole clergy, of different denominations, agreeing in nothing but that they are maintained by the voluntary system, combine to support slavery."

Writing to a friend, Archbishop Whately says:

"What a delightful thought, that of your residing in Dublin! And is it getting up a faction for me you are after! No; I'll have no Whatelyites! I think I could before now, if I had been so disposed, have raised myself into the leader of a party—that is, induced a certain number of asses to change their panniers. But I have no such ambition. I wish people to believe all the facts which I state on my own knowledge—because I state none which I have not ascertained to be true; and to listen to the reasons I give for my conclusions—because I never use any arguments which do not appear to me sound. And that is all the conformity I covet. Any one who tries to imitate me is sure to be unlike me in the important circumstance of being an imitator; and no one can think as I do who does not think for himself."

Of our situation in this country, the London *Review* speaks as follows:

"Looking to the result of the civil war, to the utter prostration and exhaustion of the South, to the presence of the negro element amongst its population—it is clear that it must accept and make the best of whatever terms the North may prescribe. The North has, in effect, declared its will through the late elections; and from that declaration there is no appeal, except to the employment of physical force. We hesitate to believe that Mr. Johnson could be wicked enough to resort to this, even if he could carry the army and navy along with him. But, whatever may be his inclinations, no one who knows anything of the United States can suppose that either service would stand by him against Congress. American soldiers and sailors do not cease to be citizens; and as such they will certainly respect the will of the nation, pronounced through its representatives. The only result of Mr. Johnson's obstinacy will be to prolong the disorganization of Southern society, by encouraging the people to postpone their ultimately inevitable submission to the new order of things, and to waste a considerable portion of the present session of Congress in fruitless and exasperating discussions between the Executive and the Legislature. It will probably lead to his own impeachment; and he will be chargeable with all the public inconvenience which must follow such a proceeding. His decision is, therefore, for every reason to be regretted and deplored, although it may possibly have one good result. The Americans have hitherto treated the Vice-Presidency as an office of so little importance that it might safely be disposed of as a pawn in the game of party. Their experience of Mr. Johnson will be a lesson to them never again to grant power in remainder to one whom they would not think of intrusting with its actual possession."

Dr. Miller, the Vicar of Greenwich (says the London *Spectator*), once the most popular man in Birmingham, and one of the best specimens of the "Evangelical" clergy, has given expression this week to a complaint very generally heard in middle-aged society. He told the Young Men's Christian Association of Manchester, on Monday, that boys were getting too bumptious altogether, or, as he more suavely put it, that the "standard of parental authority had been lowered."

* * * * * * * *

The main benefit, however, of the relaxation of household manners is, as we take it, the very effect of which Dr. Miller so feelingly complains. The young have been tempted by it to use their reason, instead of accepting things blindly, Finding that they have to hold their own against argument as well as authority, they are compelled to think, and the lad who thinks upon any subject is certain, sooner or later, to use his power of thinking upon all. Of course they stagger or run, just as children do when they begin to walk; but surely the sort of rush with which a child of two years gets from point to point, head down, body swaying forward, and little feet pattering at speed, because a slower pace would involve a fall, is better, much better, than not walking at all. If boys and girls are really to be saved or damned according to their belief in the power of a priest to absolve, surely it is good they should reason on absolution, and should state their conclusions. How else are they to be corrected? "Keep your whistles going, boy," says the engine-driver in *Dombey and Son* to his boy, "and let us know where you are." And wise fathers will always want to know, above all things, whither their sons' minds tend. To compel them to silence, as Dr. Miller would apparently advise, is simply to compel them to go wrong. It is impossible, in the present age, to prevent their thinking, impossible to keep newspapers out of their hands, impossible to prevent discussion among themselves, and the only corrective on all these things is discussion with their elders, to which Dr. Miller is opposed. So are the Jesuit fathers, and the result on the seminarists of their training—which is merely the old household discipline carried to perfection—is its sufficient condemnation. Their boys grow up gentlemanly, quiet, unobtrusive young hypocrites, beautifully amenable at once to authority and temptation. No doubt the lads of the day might be more modest in discussion, just as a kitten might be more sober in its gambols; but in both cases restraint takes away all vivacity, and grace, and naturalness from their movements. No doubt it is a bore, a very great bore, for a mature man to be overwhelmed in conversation by the dogmatism of boys; but that is a penalty we may surely endure for the sake of the outspoken frankness which endurance produces. The intellectual vice of this generation has been, and to a less extent is still, over-reticence, an apparent acquiescence in statements and opinions secretly disbelieved, and it is owing principally to the relaxation in the relations of parent and child that it will not be the vice of the next.

Nearly thirty thousand copies of "Snow-Bound,' Whittier's last poem, have been sold. Says the *Evening Post*: "This charming picture of Winter life in New England has been reprinted in old England, and is warmly commended by the press, not over anxious to praise American productions. Whittier is now engaged in putting a new poem to press—a poem descriptive of Summer life. It is called 'The Tent on the Beach,' and will be ready for the public next month. It is said to abound in beautiful sea-side sketches, and is replete with out-of-door pictures. We understand it has received the enthusiastic approbation of a literary circle to whom it has been lately read; a custom, by the way, most commendable and quite worthy to be followed. The new poem will, no doubt, be a fit companion-piece to 'Snow-Bound,' and a new wreath to the author's well-earned fame. Messrs. Ticknor and Fields are to bring out the volume in very excellent style, on new type and fine paper."

The Friend, for January, 1867, comes to us enlarged to thirty-two pages, in a plain, neat and becoming cover. The Rev. John W. Chadwick of Brooklyn contributes an excellent article upon "The Spirit of the Age;" also a poem of real merit on the "Old Year and New." John J. Merritt, formerly a conservative, now a radical preacher, of the New York Monthly Meeting of Friends, the author of the very interesting series of articles on the religious government of the Society of Friends, is also a contributor, and will continue to write during the year. The Rev. Robert Collyer of Chicago, promises the aid of his able pen. Rev. J. Vila Blake, who has during the past year written a very instructive series of articles upon the "Four Gospels," will continue his contributions.

The Friend is still published under the auspices of the Friend Association. Mr. Potts, a liberal Unitarian of Brooklyn, is to be associated for the year with Edward S. Bunker, in the editorial management of the paper. Both are young men of good editorial talent, and we may confidently expect from them a journal of better than average quality. We notice among other changes, that they have chosen to abolish its distinct editorial department, and to appear in its pages mainly as contributors, over borrowed names, contenting themselves with a few editorial notes as a sort of an appendix. In this we think they mistake, and we miss something of the positive force and directness which has made *The Friend* a journal of individual, pronounced opinions. We bespeak for it an enlarged subscription list and a wide field of influence and usefulness.

RECEIVED.

LETTER from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a report from Hon. David A. Wells, Special Commissioner of the Revenue, and a bill prepared by him as a substitute for the Custom laws now in force. Pamphlet, 73 pages.

Littell's Living Age, Vol. III., Fourth Series, 824 pages. Conducted by E. Littell. Boston: Littell, Son & Co.

The Historical Magazine. Edited by Henry B. Dawson. New York: American News Co.

The Atlantic Monthly, February, 1867. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

Our Young Folks, February, 1867. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

The Reformed Presbyterian, January, 1867. Edited by Thomas Sproul. Pittsburg: Bakewell & Marthens.

Our Boys and Girls, Oliver Optic's Magazine, No. 4. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

OUR NATIONAL FINANCES, a pamphlet, 60 pages. By a Patriot. New York: Francis Hart & Co.

Littell's Living Age, Fourth Series, No. 43, for January 26, 1867. Boston: Littell, Son & Co.

Every Saturday, No. 56, for January 26, 1867. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

LOUISIANA.

NEW ORLEANS, Jan. 18.

Owing to the failure of the cotton crop, planters are willing to sell a portion of their large tracts to Yankees and niggers. In many cases, farms and parts of farms have been sold to the slaves that formerly worked on them, a little cash being paid down, the balance in cotton to be grown in future years; but in many parts of the State, life, and especially black life, is terribly insecure. Murders of the poor blacks are so common that they are scarcely noticed. Civil law there is, but no justice. In Mississippi, parts of Tennessee, and Arkansas, Union men find no better chance of justice than the negro. Louisiana stands rather better, but through all the South the difficulty is that there is not sufficient power in the Freedmen's Bureau. There are but few of the counties that have an agent, and without the aid of the military they can do but little in any county. In some counties an agent would not be safe himself.

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He says in his note: "I want you to offer in the next STANDARD, as a premium, to whoever will get the most subscribers to it for the year 1867, a $100 Government Bond, and the interest. I send it to you, so that the person who earns it shall be sure of getting it and the accrued gold interest. I do not want any conditions added, except that the money for the paper must be paid either when the subscription is sent in, or before the first of July. There may be many or few, but the more the better, and the one who gets the *most* shall have the premium, whether the number be *ten* or *one thousand!*"

We are not at liberty to give the name of the donor, but he adds: "You may say it comes from one who would not miss the STANDARD for all the other papers he knows."

The Bond is in our possession, and we shall pay it to the one from whom, on the first of July, we shall have received the largest number of new subscribers. Some one will be sure of receiving it. Competitors for the Bond are authorized to retain twenty-five per cent. (75 cents each subscription) commission.

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TO LYCEUM MANAGERS.—MRS. FRANCES E. W. HARPER, formerly of Boston, has prepared two lectures, "The Nation's Great Opportunity," and "The Colored Man as a Social and Political Force," which she will deliver to Lyceums, etc. Application may be made direct to Mrs. Harper, No. 107 North-Fifth street, Philadelphia. She has permission to refer to Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Esq., Revs. R. C. Waterson, John T. Sargent and Leonard A. Grimes, Charles W. Slack, Esq., and Mrs. J. C. Johnson, 78 Temple street.

TENNESSEE.

THE MURDER OF UNIONISTS—CONDITION OF THE FREEDMEN.

NASHVILLE, Jan. 18.

The Sheriff of Obion county, who has just arrived here, confirms the murder of two Deputy-Sheriffs of that county, by the same inhuman fiend who assassinated Senator Case. The murdered men were stanch Unionists, and the murderer a returned guerilla. The awful tragedy was the culmination of a bitter political feud which has existed since the war. There is considerable feeling on the subject, and the Legislature will not be likely to mince matters in passing a stringent loyal militia bill.

With all that has been said about the indolence and worthlessness of the negroes, there are only two freedmen drawing rations in this county. Where one colored person applies to the Bureau or city authorities for relief, there are at least half-a-dozen indigent whites who are to be seen on the same mission. Suits involving the constitutionality of the franchise law will be argued in the Supreme Court commencing next Wednesday. The decision is looked for with considerable interest.

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CANTATAS.

As the Hart Pants, *Mendelssohn*, Boards 60 cents, Paper 50 cts. Hear my Prayer, *Mendelssohn*, 50 cents. Hymn of Praise, *Mendelssohn*, $1 00. Miriam's Song of Triumph, *Schubert*, 75 cents. Praise of Friendship, *Mozart*, 50 cents. St. Cecilia's Day, *Van Bree*, Cloth $1 25, Paper $1 00. May Queen, *Bennett*, Cloth $1 25, Paper cents. *Rosa*, 50 cents. Storm King, *Baker*, 38 cents. Burning Ship, *Baker*, 85 cents. Winter Evening's Entertainment, *Cull*, Cloth $1 25, Paper $1 00. Transient and Eternal, *Romberg*, 38 cents. Great Rebellion, *Webster*, $3 00.

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MAKE SURE OF IT.—THE PHRENOLOGICAL JOURNAL for December contains fine portraits of Doré, the great French Artist, the King and Queen of Prussia, twelve distinguished American Clergymen, Miss Kate Bateman, with biographies and sketches of character. Also a host of interesting matter, including What is Education? by John Neal; Characters of Shakspeare; Falseness of Society; Thiers, the French Statesman; Ourang-Outangs, etc. Only 30 Cents; $3 a Year. Now is the time to subscribe. A new Volume begins with the next No. Address FOWLER & WELLS, 389 Broadway, N. Y. 34 34

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Miscellaneous Department.

SPIRIT VISITANTS.

BY H. W. LONGFELLOW.

When the hours of day are numbered,
And the voices of the night
Wake the better soul that slumbered,
To a holy, calm delight;

Ere the evening lamps are lighted,
And, like phantoms grim and tall,
Shadows from the fitful fire-light
Dance upon the parlor wall;

Then the forms of the departed
Enter at the open door;
The beloved, the true-hearted
Come to visit me once more.

He, the young and strong, who cherished
Noble longings for the strife,
By the roadside fell and perished,
Weary with the march of life.

They, the holy ones and weakly,
Who the cross of suffering bore,
Folded their pale hands so meekly,
Spake with us on earth no more!

And with them, the being beauteous,
Who unto my youth was given,
More than all those else that love me,
And is now a saint in heaven.

With a slow and noiseless footstep
Comes that messenger divine—
Takes the vacant chair beside me,
Lays her gentle hand in mine.

And she sits and gazes at me,
With those deep and tender eyes,
Like the stars so still and saint-like,
Looking downward from the skies.

Uttered not, yet comprehended,
Is the spirit's voiceless prayer;
Soft rebukes, in blessings ended,
Breathing from her lips of air.

O, though oft depressed and lonely,
All my fears are laid aside;
If I but remember only
Such as these have lived and died.

FEMALES.

A new crime has just been invented in France which suggests sundry serious reflections. Everybody knows, or at least ought to know, that by our English law it is an offence to kiss a woman against her will, but it has been reserved for French jurisprudence to determine that it is a criminal act to call a woman a "female." The Imperial Court of Riom, in the Puy-de-Dôme, has decided that this epithet applied to a woman constitutes an insult, and is to be punished accordingly. As the information which supplies this important intelligence does not supply the actual French word which is thus held to be insulting to the modesty of women, we are unable to decide whether it precisely corresponds to its English equivalent, and must be content to remain in the dark as to the social or juridical animus which has thus added one more to the already long list of forbidden things in France. Here in England we do not suppose that the application of any similar word can ever subject an injudicious talker to a legal penalty; and, indeed, if our memory serves us, it is only within a recent date that the application of the kiss to an unwilling matron or maid has been decided to constitute an assault. It is only before the tribunal of good taste that the propriety of applying the word "female" to an Englishwoman can be seriously argued. And that it does deserve to be thus argued will be denied by nobody who is familiar with that style of writing and conversation which may best be described as essentially second-rate, and who appreciates that style at its true merits.

There are, indeed, few more trustworthy tests of sound cultivation, and of a good style in talk and in writing, than the manner in which women are described. Let anybody run over in his mind the various turns of phrase which are now prevalent, *and he will feel at once that it is by no means* an easy thing for the uncultured author or talker to steer clear of something very like vulgarity in the choice of them. "The sex," "the fair sex," "the gentler sex," "the female sex," "females," "ladies," "the ladies," "women," "woman," a man's "good lady," his "better half,"—here is a rich variety of words of which it is no exaggeration to say that almost each of them may be employed in such a manner as to suggest that the person who thus employs it is not a gentleman, but a gent; or that if he is not altogether and on all occasions a gent, he is by no means free from such an amount of the gentish elementas will be certain to break out now and then in its unmistakable ugliness. One knows almost instinctively the classes of men with whom the objectionable use of most of these terms is most common. Of course almost all of them may be and are continually used without suggesting the faintest odor of ill-breeding or ignorance of the rules of good taste. It is only such atrocities as the calling one's wife "my good lady," or "my better half," except in open irony or jest, which are absolute impossibilities from the lip of a gentleman. But at the same time every one of the others may be used in such a manner as to cause more or less unpleasant sensations in the reader or hearer. Even the very simplest of all, the mere word "woman," is heard with associations by no means of the refined order.

In the days of toasts and sentiments,—and they are not yet quite extinct,—"woman," either with or without some flattering adjective, was a standing favorite with convivial gentry of a well-known type; especially when what they used to call the "cup" or "the flowing bowl" had circulated pretty freely, and the company were beginning to "cultivate good fellowship" to an extent which made them unpresentable to the "females" in whose pretended honor they drank their "goblets of rosy wine." Now-a-days we have nearly ceased to be "convivial" to this extent, at least in cultivated life; and instead of toasting "woman, lovely woman," we console ourselves with drinking, "the ladies" at almost every public dinner,—a ceremony wisely postponed till the very end of the proceedings, doubtless for the judicious reason that even the most practised or hardened after-dinner speaker feels that until he has imbibed a certain amount of exhilarating wine he could not bring himself to utter the barefaced humbug which is expected on such occasions. Lord Palmerston himself, who could give "the ladies" with as little vulgarity as any man of his day, would not have found it possible to deliver himself of the orthodox claptrap at an early hour of the evening.

Of the rest of the words which are made to do duty for the simple word "women," they are the delight of everybody who wishes to talk fine, and to appear what he or she considers to be "genteel." Where well-bred men or women would speak of their companions as "men and women," the gentish mind prefers to speak of "gentlemen and ladies." These words are often, too, the delight of that particularly odious sort of men who look down upon women as a kind of inferior animal, to be flattered to their faces as simpletons unable to enter into rational conversation, and to be classed together in an indiscriminate lump as "the sex," or "the female sex," born to play a part antagonistic to that of the worthier race who are detestably described as their "lords." As to the one word the correlative of which is now branded as forbidden in France, it is the very type and representative of the whole class, and may perhaps be taken as expressing the spirit of gentishness itself. The gent divides the human race, with the exception of the artisan and laboring class, into two sections, gents and females. And it seems not at all unlikely that, as it would be unquestionably an affronting and insulting thing to tell one who is really a gentleman that he is only a gent, so the more refined sensibilities of a French judge may have detected in the term "female" something as affronting to the self-respect of all women, simply as women, as is the imputation of gentishness to an Englishman, simply as a man. It is true it is not yet penal to call a man a gent in England, but then France is not England. At any rate it is to be feared that the enforcement of a correct and refined diction will find no place in any probable codification of English statute law, and that it is only before the bar of social criticism that it will ever be made an indictable offence to call a woman a female.

The Nyce Fruit-House. We have already announced that a company has been organized in Boston as the Massachusetts Fruit-Preserving Company, for the purpose of erecting a house, under the patent of Professor Nyce, for keeping fruit. This company will probably have their house completed in January, and ready for foreign fruit in February and March. In the meantime E. S. Converse, Esq., of Malden, one of the stockholders, has built and completed a fruit-house, which he has already filled with apples, pears, grapes, etc. The house is about twenty feet square, and we shall give a full account of it in a future number. The fruit was put into the house the last of September, and is now, Nov. 20, just in the same condition. A few kinds of early Autumn pears, which were too ripe at that time to keep more than a week or so, were put into the house and are now, after six weeks, just in the same condition. The grapes from Mr. Converse's grapery, so ripe that they had begun to shrivel, are keeping without the least change.

In Ohio Professor Nyce's patent is well-known, and specimens have been repeatedly exhibited before the Cincinnati Horticultural Society in a perfect state of preservation from six to twelve months after gathering from the trees. It is hoped that a similar exhibition may be made here of the choice varieties of pears, next Spring.—*Hovey's Magazine of Horticulture.*

The November number of the *North American Journal of Homœopathy* contains the following interesting article, which, we understand, was written by Dr. E. E. Marcy, of New York, one of the most eminent practitioners of the Homœopathic school:

Nothing contributes more to the physical, moral and intellectual development and healthfulness of a community than suitable recreation. Man is made up of a great variety of organs and faculties, all destined to perform certain functions, and a proper exercise and development of them is essential to the highest degree of health and usefulness. This vital fact is not duly appreciated by the American people. In all parts of our country the chief end of life appears to consist in the acquisition of riches; and all of the faculties of the mind—yea, even health itself, are rendered subservient to this object. In our large cities, especially, violations of laws of health are almost universal. The amount of recreation and amusement indulged in by professional, literary and business men is entirely inadequate to secure that degree of physical and mental vigor which properly belongs to them. Scarcely a man of them can examine carefully the mortal tabernacle in which his soul dwells, without finding some derangement, some source of pain, depression of spirits, or other annoyance.

We claim that a large portion of these evils is due to excessive devotion to business, and to a neglect of those mental and physical diversions which conduce so materially to health and happiness. On reaching home from business, our citizens indulge in rich dinners, with vinous and other potations. After the meal is ended, a majority of them mope over their evening journals, ponder upon the prices of merchandise, stocks, and the profits and losses of the day, and then retire to an unrefreshing sleep, with a stomach full of rich viands and exciting stimulants, and a mind oppressed with perplexing cares and thoughts of business. Another portion pass a large part of the night at crowded parties, balls, theatres, clubs and late suppers, and call this recreation. But is the inhalation, for hours in succession, of a poisonous atmosphere, or an indulgence in game suppers, punches, wines, ices, and other abominations, at two or three o'clock in the morning, and then go from heated apartments with open pores into a cold atmosphere, in sober reality amusing, or conducive to health or morals? Let the morning's headache, nausea, and mental and bodily lassitude, which even Seltzer water fails to remove, answer. Later, let the sallow skin, the dyspeptic stomach, the torpid liver, the shaky nerves and the blue-devils respond to the query. Later still, let apoplexy, paralysis, softening of the brain, or Bright's disease, give the final answer.

What, then, can be suggested as suitable modes of recreation? How can we present that exercise and diversion to both mind and body which will result in recruiting them from the perplexing toils and cares of business? We answer, by directing the thoughts and muscles into new and agreeable channels—by taking the mind from care, anxiety and severe application, and diverting it by pleasurable exercise and excitement—by setting aside disagreeable and depressing emotions, and substituting in their place those which are cheerful and exhilarating; by giving to the dormant muscles of the limbs, and of the whole body that gentle and healthful exercise which they so much require, but of which they are deprived in the ordinary avocations of city life.

SONG.

The butterfly may hover
Where gold-eyed daisies grow,
And round and round the clover
The drunken bee may go;
But the strong-winged bird flies over
And leaves them there below.

The wind may keep on bringing
Sweet sounds to the leaves that sigh,
The brook may join his singing
To the cricket's merry cry;
But the strong bird's song is ringing
Above them in the sky.

The Underground Railways in London.—A correspondent writes as a hint to us of the city as follows, of one of his experiences in London:

I found myself in Easton street Station, London. Having to proceed some distance into the city, we determined to take the underground railway; which, by the way, is not such a myth as our American underground, but is a very pleasant reality, for one is removed far from the dust and noise of the crowded streets. The metropolitan is still in its infancy, having been constructed but a few years. On reaching the station we were much struck with the novelty of descending some thirty or forty feet beneath the surface before we found the train, and when we did find it, we were hustled in by an officious porter (all porters are officious in England), the whistle blew and we were off. We expected to experience some disagreeable sensations on this, our first trip; but our expectations were never realized. The carriages are very comfortable and much like the common English carriages, being divided into compartments capable of holding six persons; these compartments are of three grades, first, second and third, the doors being at the side. The stations are supplied with lights from above by means of reflectors; and the carriages are lighted with gas. The tunnel is aired by a system of flues which keep up a continual circulation, so that no unpleasant odors arise from the smoke or use of gas. When we arrived at our destination, Farrington street, we once more ascended to the upper regions. In our rambles over London we noticed numbers of buildings in process of destruction to make room for a further extension of these subterraneous routes. The idea of building these railways was to relieve the streets from a great deal of travel. Luggage is not allowed on this line, as it is chiefly meant for the convenience of business men and not regular travellers. I hope the day is not far distant when we shall be able to flash along under Broadway, and not be compelled to endure the disagreeables of a crowded "bus," or what is worse, have to wait an hour or so to let the troops pass by on Evacuation Day parade.

The Elephant as a Walker.—We have generally found two curious points overlooked or ignored by writers. One is the rapid and noiseless movements of this animal in the thickest cover; the other, his capabilities of passing over ground for him apparently unfeasible. The elastic, noiseless footfall of the elephant has been frequently referred to by writers on Indian subjects, and has been rightly asserted to be the most agreeable feature in journeying on elephant back. This peculiarity may be easily explained by an examination of the structure of the animal's foot; but the silent, stealthy way in which he will pass through the densest thicket, literally "slipping away," when his acute sense of smell or hearing warn him of danger, has been generally overlooked, and appears to us somewhat difficult of explanation. Let any one unskilled in the mysteries of "bush-ranging" attempt to move even a few paces in an ordinary fox covert without noise, and he will form some idea of the difficulties presented to the passage of so huge an animal as the elephant through the dense, tangled undergrowth of a South African "bush." Yet that the animal, despite his enormous bulk, will "draw off," when within a few yards of his pursuer, without the slightest noise, and with the greatest rapidity, even in the thickest cover, is undeniable. Again, his powers of passing over difficult ground are often underrated even by hunters. When experiments were first made in India in training elephants to draw the gun, it was observed with surprise that the animal's power of ascending steep and rugged ground was far greater than had been anticipated. The gun, a light six-pounder, with which the trial was first made, was drawn up a slope so steep as to require the animal to crawl upon its fore knees, which it did without hesitation. On the other hand, hampered by the gun and harness, the elephant (a small female) showed unusual dread of soft and swampy ground.

TIME WAITS FOR NO MAN.

My days pass pleasantly away,
My nights are blest with sweetest sleep,
I feel no symptoms of decay,
I have no cause to mourn or weep.
My foes are impotent and shy,
My friends are neither false nor cold,
And yet of late I often sigh,
"I'm growing old."

Death of a Book-Worm.—The Kilkenny (Ireland) *Moderator* chronicles the death of Mr. John F. Ryan, librarian to the Kilkenny Library Society. Mr. Ryan's eccentricity was very great. Books were his idols, and the collection of the library of the society, extensive as it was, was very far from sufficient for his cravings. He denied himself all luxuries, and almost the commonest means of support and clothing, in order to invest whatever he could from his salary in books. He had apartments in the attic story of the library premises, but no one was permitted to enter them but himself, not even the female servant, whom he kept more for the regulation of the society's reading-room than for attendance on himself. His sleeping-room, as it was found after his decease, contained scarcely any furniture, but was piled up with books, promiscuously heaped in every direction, and covered with dust and cobwebs. There was no bedstead, an old sofa having supplied its place, and his covering at night was composed only of a couple of blankets. This couch he always arranged for himself. The apartment which had been intended for his sitting-room was also heaped with dust-covered volumes, and he had long ceased to make use of it for any purpose but that of storing his literary treasures, taking his scanty meals in the committee-room of the Society.

An American Hotel Clerk.—I tell you a hotel clerk is the embodiment and concentration of dignity. If their wealth is to be judged by their dignity, they must each be possessed of several millions apiece. Perhaps you are not aware what I am driving at. Just go and ask one of these lodging-room potentates of the whereabouts of some friend of yours who may be an inmate of the house. Providing you are a major-general or a congressman, you may receive a satisfactory answer. If you are a brigadier, you may get a vague one. If a colonel, it may be necessary to wait three or four minutes. If a captain or lieutenant, six or seven. If a mere civilian—but words fail to convey an idea of the manner in which civilians are crushed and subjugated when they propound their modest inquiries. Not that they are rude. O, no! But there is a majesty, a loftiness, an exaltation, a consciousness of power in their words, looks and gestures which reduces the inquirer in his own estimation to the last verge of inferiority. Christians who are always strong to humble and abase themselves, whose besetting sin is pride, just come down here and take a dose or two of hotel clerk. Whenever I feel that I need being taken down a peg or two, that I am riding too high a quadruped, I have a never-failing remedy. I merely step into one of our first-class hotels and ask, "Is Mr. Smith stopping here?" and the great man, after the necessary delay, lifts his eyes, and I feel that I am a worm, and when he speaks I deem myself a Chinaman.—*California Paper.*

The Expression of the Eye.—They play at a game in France in which certain members of a company are entirely concealed with the exception of their eyes. Everything is hidden except the eye itself—and then it is the business of the rest of the company to identify the concealed persons simply by their eyes. One who had played at this game told me that the difficulty of such identification is incredibly great, and that he himself was unable to find out his own wife when thus concealed. More than this, it happened that on one occasion a lady, celebrated for her beauty, and especially distinguished by her fine eyes, la Duchesse de M——, was drawn into engaging in this pastime, there being only one other person hidden besides herself, and this an old gentleman not celebrated for his eyes. The pair were duly concealed and bandaged up, with nothing but their eyes visible, and then the person—a lady—who has to declare to whom the respective eyes belonged, was introduced. Without a moment's hesitation she walked up straight to where the old gentleman was placed, and exclaimed, "Ah, there is no one but la Duchesse de M—— who can boast such eyes as these." She made the choice, and it was the wrong one.—*Macmillan's Magazine.*

Fighting "Friends."—The *Friends' Intelligencer*, published in Philadelphia, discusses the proper course of action towards those members of the Quaker societies who have borne arms during the late war. It says no general or uniform rule has been followed in these cases. Some of the guilty persons have "offered acknowledgments," which have satisfied their monthly meetings. Others are unable, as yet, to see their fault. The *Intelligencer* would have great lenity shown to those who "were induced to buckle on the sword," especially as they were encouraged "by the expression of sympathy and interest in the cause at issue by those who were older, and were looked upon as consistent members of our religious society." But it thinks that, for the future, Friends should give an increased prominence to the "peace principle" in religious teachings, that especial care should be taken to impress it upon children as early in life as possible, and that this instruction should not be neutralized, "by placing in the hands of the little ones the toy-drum, pistol and gun, with the tin battalion, which, though inertive in themselves, are significant of hostility and a retaliatory temper."

FROST PICTURES.

Wonderful pictures—silver white—
Gleam on the window panes to-night:
Stately forests, and orchard trees,
Birds and blossoms, and honey bees.
No one can tell how the pictures grow—
Wonderful pictures—pure as snow.

An English Nobleman's Seat.—Some idea of an English Duke's estate may be had when we state that the establishment of the Duke of Devonshire would occupy one of our large counties. The park immediately surrounding the place contains three thousand acres. The principle garden for vegetables, fruits, green-houses, etc., is twenty-five acres. There are thirty green-houses, each from fifty to seventy-five feet long. Three or four of these contain nothing but pine-apples, others contain nothing but melons and cucumbers. One peach tree on the glass wall measures fifty-one feet in width, fifteen feet in height, and bears one thousand and sixty peaches. It is the largest in the world. The grape houses, five or six in all, are seven hundred feet long. But what shall be said of the conservatory, filled with every variety of tropical plants? It is one of the wonders of the world. It covers an acre of ground, is one hundred feet high, of oval shape, and cost $500,000. It is heated by steam and hot water pipes, which in all are six miles in length. The apparatus consumes six hundred tons of coal in a year.

The Latest Literary Discovery.—The Paris correspondent of the London *Star* gives a fuller account of a literary discovery, of which we have already made mention: "Archæologists have been thrown into a state of immense excitement by the discovery last week of an iron box filled with cartularies and diplomas on parchment, among a pile of old chests in the muniment room of the Louvre. These historical treasures bear the date of the thirteenth century. The work of deciphering them has been entrusted to one of the most talented palegraphists of the day, who is, moreover, a member of the Institute. The most profound secrecy has been enjoined on this erudite gentleman, who has undertaken to abstain from revealing any portions of those documents till the work of deciphering the whole contents of the chest is finished. He has been requested to work as rapidly as possible, in order that the curiosity of the literary world may be satisfied in the shortest time."

A large manufacturing company in Chicago employs a young lady only thirteen years of age as paymaster. She has paid out since last May a quarter of a million of dollars, keeping the time-sheets, pay-roll, and private account-book with and for each of three to four hundred men employed. She receives the money weekly from the bank to the amount of $4,000 to $5,000, carries the transaction of paying all the men through, and settles and makes her balances with the cashier. She knows every man in the establishment, the force being divided into eleven departments, each having its responsible foreman. She commands a salary of $625 per annum, takes two music lessons each week, and attends an evening course at a commercial college, where she has a scholarship. Nor does this produce any overstrain on her intellect. She is in the most robust and vigorous health, never has a days sickness, and stands ten hours each day at her desk.

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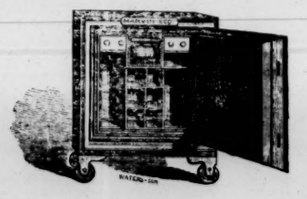

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